

BACKGROUND



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1982/1

**POLITICAL
ISSUES
LINKING
THE
PACIFIC
AND
ASIA**



Reports and Papers of a Regional Consultation



Korea Japan

China

Taiwan

Laos

Thailand

Vietnam

Kampuchea

Philippines

Pacific Ocean

Malaysia

Indonesia

Papua New Guinea

Vanuatu

New Caledonia

Australia

New Zealand

POLITICAL ISSUES LINKING THE PACIFIC AND ASIA

Reports and Papers of a Regional Consultation of the CCIA/WCC
in collaboration with the Pacific Conference of Churches
and the Christian Conference of Asia

Manila, Philippines, 28 September - 3 October 1981

**Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
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DIRECTOR'S INTRODUCTION

This issue of *CCIA Background Information* contains the documents and reports of the CCIA Asia/Pacific Regional Meeting which was held in Manila, Philippines, from September 28 to October 3, 1981. The Manila meeting concludes a series of CCIA regional events organized with a view to assisting the ecumenical movement both to understand better the critical issues at stake in a particular region of the world and to focus continued international concern for the work already undertaken by the churches there.

The Manila meeting is ecumenically significant in three respects. The first is that it is the first time in the CCIA history that church representatives from the Pacific and Asia regions have been brought together to consider the common issues which affect their respective struggle and commitment in their own situations and to formulate appropriate strategies for dealing with the issues nationally, regionally, inter-regionally and internationally. Secondly, the need for holding such a meeting was seen by the staff of the two regional ecumenical councils as not only timely but also essential for their own engagement. They demonstrated this by collaborating fully in the various stages of the planning and in giving guidance to the meeting itself. Thirdly, the analysis in the documents of the meeting demonstrate convincingly that the two regions experience several common patterns of domination and exploitation whose eradication requires the concerted efforts of the ecumenical fellowship. As the meeting stated in its report on the role of the churches :

“We are geographically the closest neighbours and we are engaged to a large extent in common struggle against the international forces of domination. We are bound together under the threats of nuclear proliferation and virtually affected together by the dangers of radioactive waste disposals. Systematic militarization of Pacific and Asia regions dictated by the security and economic interests of the superpowers bind us together for our survival. We are also aware of growing economic relations between some of the Asian nations and Pacific regions.”

The papers presented at the meeting commend themselves to careful attention in terms of the in-depth analysis and the topical information they contain. The paper by Mr. Alan Matheson gives a detailed overview of all aspects of Australia's involvement in the South Pacific. Mr. Moon Kyu Kang's presentation is a historical study of how the doctrine of national security has been systematically applied in several Asian countries. Mr. Yuzi Suzuki's remarks outline Japan's major role in determining political and economic developments in both Asia and the Pacific. Mr. Jean-Marie Tjibaou's presentation describes the current status of the independence movement of New

Caledonia. The papers on Papua New Guinea, by two well known government officials, Fr. John Momis and Mr. Utulu Samana, present a full picture of their country's internal situation as well as the key role it plays in Melanesia and South East Asia. The paper prepared and presented by representatives of the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC) summarizes the Pacific churches' involvement in regional political and economic issues through the Decade of the 1970s and up to the 1981 Fourth PCC Assembly, indicates some important lessons learned and contains suggestions for church action around the world.

The disturbing picture revealed in the presentations and reports features a number of phenomena and trends that are by no means unique to Asia or the Pacific. For example, there is a growing concentration of economic and military power both internationally and within many nations. Development models, dependent on foreign capital and technology, are imported from or imposed by the industrialized countries. Since such a model functions only with an extreme degree of political stability, the logical end-requirement in many of the Asian countries and Pacific micro-states is a repressive and provocative political system which increasingly relies on the police and the military to ensure the continuity of an exploited labour force and population.

Another related noteworthy phenomenon is the contemporary manifestation of militarism that is both capital-intensive and often foreign inspired. Fueled by great power rivalry, and by economic and political competition, the countries of these two regions are experiencing a steep increase in the flow of armaments. These high technology and costly armaments require a breed of military technocrats who preside over the total economic and military machine. Military personnel, trained by foreign experts, eventually become component parts of the larger systems of the foreign supplying powers. Consequently, the function of this "transnationalized" military becomes primarily the policing and control of its citizens in the interests of transnational economic enterprises, and the nation state itself is reduced to a subsidiary role.

One trend which may be highlighted is that of the increasing nuclearization of both Asia and the Pacific. It is already well known that the peoples of these two regions (especially the Pacific) are becoming increasingly the victims of nuclear technology and weapon testing which not only imperil their quality of life but also threaten human survival. This nuclearization trend is manifested by mining and destruction of tribal people's land, the dumping of nuclear waste, storage of nuclear weapons in military bases and the construction of nuclear reactor plants.

Finally, while several Asian and Pacific countries are undergoing post-independence disenchantment struggling against neocolonial domination, a few Pacific peoples such as those of New Caledonia and Micronesia are still fighting for their independence and the right to self-determination. While these independence struggles need continuing support, it is perhaps equally important for the international community to help create circumstances by which the newly independent nations can avoid their neighbours' mistakes and build just and sustainable societies for their peoples.

Ninan Koshy
Director

I. DOCTRINE OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN ASIA

by Kang Moon Kyu

1. The national security imperative

All Koreans who lived during the Korean War (1950 - 1953) vividly remember living in fear of the death that rained from the skies. We remember the vigilant eyes of our fathers, uncles, or neighbours who, with their air raid warden arm bands, made sure that we were all obeying the rules as Korean cities staged periodic air raid drills. Even during this hard time of war, we sang a popular song called, "When the Lights go on Again All Over Korea".

Those of us who sang this song were not just thinking of the electric lights that were not shining. We were also singing about other lights that were out. We were singing about unfulfilled social and economical needs that were being postponed in favour of a *temporary* mobilization of resources, personnel, and institutions for the war. The key phrase on our lips during the Korean War was "for the duration". The mobilization of the wartime years, however, did not only mean a postponement of human and domestic priorities and a tabling of positive human development. It also meant, in moral and human terms, backward steps for humankind as higher beings and religious values rejected on the national level as disfunctional to "victory over the enemy".

During the wartime period, the Korean people tolerated, with such reluctance, the morally degrading and dehumanizing results of national security mobilization. Because the results of the mobilization were temporary, i.e., only for the "duration", they were seen as bearable : public opinion was manipulated; basic human rights, including the right to privacy were violated; "North Korean enemies" were hated, of course; government lying was accepted as a necessary evil; national morality was synonymous with "my country right or wrong"; and military budgets were sacred. Gradually, along with these circumstances, a myth and a doctrine of National Security was formed.

The expectation was that, after "the duration", things would return to normalcy. Normalcy meant "the way things used to be", when we were not faced with external threats and could pursue our personal and national goals with relative freedom from fear of external interference. This expectation of a return to normalcy was based on the historical reality of a recurrent cycle of military mobilization and demobilization through the long turbulent history of Korea. Following a war, the security imperatives constricting national life could be loosened and a period of demobilization and relative security would permit a nation and its citizenry to absorb itself with other human objectives and needs.

However, the destruction of almost the entire peninsula of Korea, with the loss of nearly three million human lives on both sides, was to change forever the security imperatives of the individual nation-state of Korea. Even after 28 years of the "Extraordinary Emergency War Period", which broke the cycle of mobilization and demobilization, the status of "the duration" continues on a rather semi-permanent basis. Furthermore, wartime mobilization on a fully national scale attained a semi-permanent status with military security as the basis of national security. Gradually this developed into a doctrine of national security which needed constantly to be turned on and operative. This doctrine was to energize an armament spiral that would assert an ever tighter stranglehold. The power elites who are in a position to determine national security policies have outlined the following basic requirements :

- a) a greatly expanded intelligence service,
- b) a national realism permitting all-out war preparations whenever aggressive intent from another nation is detected,
- c) the ability speedily to mobilize war.

This is no longer a case unique to Korea. According to this mentality, no major nation, even those not directly participating in the superpower arms race can afford to demobilize. Should enemy nations fall privy to new and terrible scales and skills, there would be little lead-time with which to regather forces against possible instant attack. With this security logic, Korea has instituted Student Defence Corps for students in high schools and colleges, and Civil Defence Corps for all civilian male citizens under 55 years of age. 35% of the national budget has gone towards defence during the last 28 years. In 1980, this represented 6% of the gross national product (GNP).

2. Military defence vs. national security

The modern national society is a complex one, resulting from the de-facto alliance among government, industry, military, etc. National security imperatives spelled out in terms of social, economic as well as military insecurity, provide the primary centralizing force of what is popularly known as the "corporate state". Directly or indirectly, the chief function of this corporate state is now national security. This multiple national security function, expressed in a constant mobilization of leadership, institutions, resources and values, is beginning to dominate all nations : rich and poor, capitalist and communist. "National Security State" is now spelled in capital letters to designate the precise reality of a full-blown and constant mobilization.

This constant mobilization for national survival acts as a straitjacket on those domestic priorities which do not contribute directly to national security competition over armaments, monetary balances and scarce resources. It also makes subservient the individual needs of citizens, whose personal lives are determined and made anonymous by the *aggregate* figures and goals of such competition. Fuller human development and the realization of such higher human values as justice, peace, unity, truth, etc., are restricted and subverted by the dominance of security priorities.

What does all this mean for us in the world and what are its implications for us here in Asia ? The United States of America has spent almost US\$ 3 trillion on national security since 1945. In spite of this, the USA feels less secure today than in 1945. Its military

expenditures exceed those of all other nations for this period. It is the only nation in the world with a string of hundreds of bases far from its shores. The USA has more destructive power than any nation on earth has ever had. Yet, the USA seems unable to translate this awesome array of lethal hardware into effective political power. Why ?

The American war in Indo-China, like the French war before it, and the seventeen-day Chinese war after it, failed to achieve its stated objective. But, even more seriously, the effort to stabilize South Vietnam by military means exacted a political, economical, and social cost which the United States is still paying.

Former President Lyndon Johnson's insistence that the nation fight a US\$ 150 billion war and build a "Great Society" simultaneously introduced an inflationary virus not only in the US but also in the entire capitalist world order. A number of social phenomena seen from the outside world provide clear evidence of a real decline in power instead of stability and security.

China carried out a seventeen-day war against Vietnam beginning in February, 1979, to "teach Vietnam a lesson". The Chinese successfully destroyed practically all of the economic, political, and military facilities within about twenty kilometers of the frontier before they withdrew. They severely damaged Vietnam's efforts to recover from the thirty years of war and the economic cost to themselves was severe. Robert Barnett, a former US State Department Asian expert, estimates that the war set back China's military modernization programme at least a year and cost several billions of dollars. If the purpose was to destroy the myth of Vietnamese invincibility as Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping put it, or to discourage Hanoi's close relations with Moscow, the war was not successful. The Vietnamese have not reduced their efforts to control Kampuchea. The principal lesson the Chinese may have taught is that a huge Asian power can no more effectively control Vietnam with military might than the two Western powers who tried and failed for over thirty years.

The enormous complexity of the present world makes a simple military security strategy obsolete. Violence, either in the form of foreign interference in the name of security and defence or in various other forms such as riot control and the stifling of dissent in the name of domestic stability, seem politically effective only to the extent that their use is perceived as legitimate. Indeed, the more legitimate it is, the less it needs to be used. As Britain found in India, and as is being discovered in many other cases in Asia today, once opposition grows to the point where it becomes necessary for a colonial power or authoritarian regime to engage in a war rather than just a low-level police operation, the use of force becomes illegitimate and ultimately ineffective.

In the mid-1970's, in the wake of the Indo-Chinese War, it was fashionable to talk about the need to respect the limits of military power, the necessity of co-existence with superpowers, and the global concern of transcending the Cold War. The Carter administration came in with a new post-Vietnam agenda that included normalization of relations with Hanoi and the withdrawal of ground troops from Korea. US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said in a New York Time interview in May 1977, "The day when we were obsessed by security commitments is over and that strengthens us because it frees us". But, as the new decade opened, the Carter administration proposed to spend US\$ 1 trillion in five years to keep the military balance.

As the 1980's begin, the debate about national security has degenerated into a

numbers game regarding nuclear warheads and missiles among major powers and conventional potential among lesser powers. A similar numbers game is going on in the Korean Peninsula. South Korea believes they have more soldiers than the North. However, they fear the North for their greater number of tanks and earth-to-earth missiles, and so on. In looking at national security questions today, we must to some extent look at numbers and try to understand the military forces of various nations, their real purposes and how they might affect one another. But the larger questions have to do with the nature of military power itself.

Modern weapons are now readily available on the international market. The USA itself has since World War II sold or given away armaments worth more than US\$ 100 billion. The spread of nuclear weapons is an accomplished fact. We now live in what the military historian, Harvey A. DeWeerd, calls a “balkanized world”, a world of small, poor, but over-militarized states struggling for power in the name of security.

That is not to imply that military power is useless. Organized violence is still the most persistent and obvious mechanism of political change under circumstances around the world. The key point is rather that the “hypertrophy of war” has fundamentally altered the relationship between war and politics. The very size and uncontrollability of military operations has seriously undermined their usefulness in the promotion of traditional national security goals, especially among those doctrinal security elites and those generals who are always preparing for the “last” wars.

The CCIA/WCC studies on Militarism and Disarmament provide a good summary on the whole question of what we are now dealing with. *CCIA Background Information 1978/5* states that :

Militarization should be understood as the process whereby military values, ideology, and patterns of behaviour achieve a dominating influence on the political, social, economical, and external affairs of the state, and as a consequence, the structural, ideological and behavioural patterns of both the society and the government are “militarized”.

This militarization, born of a doctrinaire national security mentality and anatomy, has further consequences : The military in many situations has become a tool of repression. The system of “national defence” in advanced societies tends toward the development of uselessly high levels of weaponry which in fact endanger the peace and security of all nations. Military alliances formed in a spirit of international solidarity have all too frequently become a form of foreign domination.

At a regional follow-up meeting on this theme organized by the Christian Conference of Asia, a distinctive characteristic of militarization in Asia was highlighted :

“The pretext is ‘political stability’, ‘national security’ or other slogans; the real purpose is to maintain the regime in power in disregard of the interests of the people, rather than against real threats. The means used include the increase of military forces (standing army, navy, and air force), the combining of police forces, para-military forces and even gangs into one system of security, and in addition the overt and covert use of the educational system, media of communication and other such institutions to instill fear in the people or at least convince them of the invincibility of the military and its good intentions. Thus, salient

results are not only abuses, corruptions, but also torture and other extreme violations of human rights and human dignity at all levels of society.”

The Asian Consultation felt strongly that a pattern and structure of domination prevailing among Asian nations is one thing, as quoted above. On the other hand, the implications of the Cold War legacy for the region and its addicted mandates inherited by those nations are a different subject for debate. The national security mentality not only wishes to insure that most Asian societies remain in firm alliance with one of the big powers in the East-West conflict, but also wishes to impose a specific model of development that aggravates inequality and injustice, and impoverishes farmers, fishermen, workers and other under-privileged groups, since it requires low wages, allows transnational corporations to draw profits, and decapitalizes developing societies.

Senator Jose W. Diokno of the Philippines illustrates further this point, characterizing his country as “a rich land of poor people” :

“Before our politics became frankly militarized by the imposition of martial law, the Philippine situation could be summarized in four cruel paradoxes : a country that was a state but not a nation; formally independent but not sovereign; with a democratic constitution that proclaimed equal freedoms for all but which only a few actually enjoyed; a rich land filled with poor people. Much the same, I believe, could be said of other developing nations of Asia.”

3. National security values

The values which the nation-state professes to protect — the security and welfare of its people — are certainly humanizing values; i.e. their security would permit people more fully to realize their human potential. In practice, however, the imperatives of the nation-state taken in its doctrinal approaches undercut not only the values of the human security and welfare. They undercut and further betray the human-centered values of truth, social justice, freedom of individual conscience and human solidarity. If these values were allowed to become more operative, they would subvert the national security mobilization which is demanded by today’s system of totally independent sovereignties. Instead, economic and arms competition engenders and reinforces such dehumanizing forces as aggregate power, secrecy, and ethnocentrism.

The national security doctrine is the ideological vehicle through which all of these tendencies are given public legitimacy. In Asia, this is repeatedly expressed in “developmental” terms, whereby the military affirms that it is the only modernized and useful institution capable of managing rapid economic growth and stability. This creates a characteristic pattern of action-reaction through most of Third World countries. As Ernie Regehr points out in the CCIA booklet, *Militarism and the World Military Order*, the tendency to over-react arises because there is no precise answer to the question of how much military capability is “enough”, and when national security is concerned, uncertainty typically leads to a preference for too much rather than too little.

We must also learn that national security is not a given, not a fact, but a perception, a state of obsessive mentality, a sort of crusade mentality at home and abroad. It assumes the inter-relatedness of so many different political, economic, and military factors that development halfway around the globe are seen to have automatic and direct impact on a nation’s core interests. Virtually every development in the world is perceived to be

potentially crucial. The doctrine is characterized by expansiveness, a tendency to push the subjective boundaries of security outward to more and more geography and more and more problems. Consequently, it demands that the country assumes a posture of military preparedness; the nation must be on permanent alert. This is also a part of the Cold War mentality directly transplanted upon peripheral nations.

The imperatives of national security values have also created a myth of national sovereignty. This is especially and more true for “developing nations”, whose dependence upon the industrial West and whose powerlessness to influence international political orders and economic structures in fact truncate the sovereignty and self-determination that is embraced so passionately in concept and in the political mobility of the people. This is the precise point by which repressive regimes manipulate people’s aspirations, kept in control through authoritarian structures, and institutionalize this system to protect the power and interests of the ruling group. In the Asian scene, this phenomenon does not respect the differences in political systems or ideologies, whether capitalist or socialist. National sovereignty and security normally appear to be combined gods for a nation.

C.S. Song, in his address to the 7th Assembly of the Christian Conference of Asia in Bangalore in May 1981, points out a trend common in Asia, the concept of national sovereignty and security appearing as a god that actually feeds on human flesh and blood.

In the name of national security, political opposition is condemned as sedition, and brutally suppressed. No man can offend this god and get away free. The table surrounding this idol is hard to break by democratic movements. Democratic movements — movements of people — are most offensive to the cult of national security. They upset internal stability and court the danger of invasion by external enemies. That is why we have seen this god of national security raging in great fury in many Asian capitals in recent years.

A new imperative posed to us in this gathering was the question of how this “savage god” has to be “demythologized”. The myth of national security has to be debunked in the name of real security for the people. Such debunking is not an end in itself. Rather, it opens up new avenues of understanding and policy for true national security aimed at people’s welfare and service for them.

People seem to live by myth. It is through myths that human beings are lifted above their captivity in the ordinary, attain powerful visions for the future, and become capable of collective actions to realize visions. Then, as now, the figures of myth touch the lives of individuals with transforming power. It should hardly be surprising then, that both thought and action on the issues of national security matters are permeated by elements of myth and are well used by power elites.

Some myths give life, others kill. Because myth fosters total commitment, the people who are so committed tend to be blind to mythologically inconvenient facts and indifferent to the human cost of their mythologically legitimated programmes. Ecu-
menical experiences show the same blindness among us to a certain extent when for instance questions of human rights or development issues are dealt with in relation to respective national sovereignty. For all these reasons, “demythologizing” is both theoretically and politically important in dealing with the doctrine of national security.

The question is not one of “surrendering” national sovereignty. The problem is not negative and does not involve giving up something we already have. The problem is positive — creating something we lack, but what we imperatively need. Our small scale and humble experience in the case of Korea would suggest a possible model of strategy as summed up so well by Mr. Yoshikazu Sakamoto in his paper on Korea as a World Order Issue. He suggests that : both processes of *internal liberation* of people and *democratic counterpenetration* as a transnational movement in support of “human rights” would compose a strategy of peaceful transformation of the situation. Of course, he does not limit such a transnational movement to the issue of human rights. Issues can be defined always within the context of our respective societies.

The WCC Conference on Disarmament affirmed that the security of humanity has its true basis in the loving will of God, who desires that none shall perish and that all his creatures should enjoy the fullness of life. Our world is a world marked with poverty, oppression and violence, but is also a world where hope is present and change is possible. Hope is present wherever people attempt to exercise control over their own lives.

II. THE HUMAN COST OF NEOCOLONIALISM

The case of the Philippines

(abridged from a paper made available to participants for discussion)

The Asia-Pacific region covers a total land area of 3,129,671 square miles and has an ocean area approximately one-third of the globe. On the land surface are some of the richest vegetation and tropical forests, which contribute a substantial share in the total timber resources worldwide. Beneath the surface are the world's richest sources of gold, tungsten, tin and other minerals. From the Straits of Malacca to the Australian coast are found some of the richest fishing grounds in the world. Not surprisingly, fish constitutes the population's main source of animal protein.

Despite the vastness and wealth of its resources, it is also in this region where we find the highest concentration of the world's poor, 86% of whom are engaged in backward methods of agricultural production. It is also in Asia and the Pacific as a whole that unemployment and underemployment hovers between 35-40% of the work force — one of the highest rates in the world. On a per capita basis, the average family earns little more than US\$ 218.00 per year.

Amidst these deplorable conditions of poverty have arisen increasingly repressive regimes that deprive the broad majority of basic human and civil freedoms.

Behind the stark contrast between abundance in material and human resources on the one hand and the appalling degree of poverty and repression on the other lies a long history of colonial and neocolonial misrule.

In general, it can be stated that the governments in the Asia-Pacific region are more restrictive and repressive today than in the mid-1960's. The trend of totalitarianism is well established in Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore.

The most visible signs of repression are in the cities : spy-ridden university lecture theatres, heavily-censored newspaper offices, intimidated courtrooms. Parliaments and judiciaries have lost both prestige and freedom. Political party life has almost come to an end in the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand. Malaysia and Singapore have moved towards the condition of one-party states. Armies have expanded their power dramatically as reflected in the rapidly increasing share they have acquired in the respective national budgets.

These typical cases are set against the backdrop of crisis conditions, which over the past three decades have underscored the subservient character of Asia's underdeveloped economies.

Manufacturing increasingly takes place in export processing zones. Behind barbed wire fences, workers are employed for long hours at controlled low wages. Despite a continued rapid expansion of urban manufacturing, independent trade unions are more conspicuously absent than ever before.

This markedly heightened level of repressive control has been a precondition for transnational corporate investments and government reorganization which have made possible a fast but distorted economic growth.

But it is also amidst these conditions of poverty and repression that a powerful resistance movement against both old and new forms of colonial rule has been rapidly developing. It is in the Asian region that the most telling blows against neocolonial oppression have been dealt over the past three decades. The struggle for genuine national independence, democracy and social emancipation has grown wider and deeper.

On the basis of protracted efforts, the peoples of China and Indochina have achieved victory in their liberation struggles. The people of East Timor are actively resisting foreign intervention and neocolonial rule. The struggles of the Indonesian, Malaysian and Filipino people have grown steadily and have found common cause with the other peoples of the Third World. It is also significant that these efforts are increasingly drawing the sympathy and support of progressive individuals and groups the world over.

Thus we are faced today with two major trends : On the one hand, the intensifying repression exercised by local authoritarian regimes within the framework of neo-colonial rule. On the other, the widening movements of the Asian and Pacific peoples, determined to achieve national independence, democracy and social progress.

In order better to grasp the dynamics of this contradiction, the history, character, problems and prospects of the Philippine situation is analyzed in the following.

1. Background of neocolonialism in the Philippines

American colonization of the Philippines was established with the purchase of this territory from Spain for the price of US\$ 20 million at the turn of the century. Half a century of US colonial rule set the basic economic, social and political structures that would fit the needs of the colonizing power. The feudal nature of Philippine society was maintained to keep the Philippines a raw material exporter, dependent mainly on the United States for manufactured goods. Through the enactment of various trade laws such as the *Payne-Aldrich Act* of 1909 and the *Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act* of 1913, this colonial free-trade pattern was institutionalized. During the postwar period, the *Bell Trade Act* of 1946 and its revised version known as the *Laurel-Langley Agreement* confirmed this pattern, despite the formal grant of independence. Such laws set the framework within which the surplus generated over several decades would percolate towards agricultural exporters, both Filipino and American, the former exclusively a class of landed elites.

In addition to enacting laws, the colonial power also worked towards moulding Philippine social and political institutions to strengthen the colonial system. Through its system of education, the colonizing power sought to consolidate the landed elite to assume positions of authority within the local political system. This served to seal the partnership between the colonial power and the landlord class.

The process of colonization was by no means a peaceful one. The “pacification” campaigns launched by the USA between the years 1898 to 1907 alone, at a cost of US\$ 600 million and some 126,500 American troops, left as many as 600,000 Filipinos either dead or incapacitated as a direct result of hostilities.

By the time Philippine independence was granted in 1946, the economic and political structures of the country were shaped and geared to perpetuate a colonial, mainly feudal economy. Independence served only to confirm Philippine social, economic and political dependence on the colonizing power.

2. The forms and manifestations of neocolonialism

The transition from colonialism to neocolonialism increased the role of foreign aid and foreign investments in perpetuating the economic and political structures that basically favoured the interests of the USA. As US President Kennedy would later put it :

“Foreign aid to developing countries is important to maintain a position of influence and control around the world for the United States and to sustain many countries from collapsing or aligning with the communist bloc.”

Since 1946 the Philippines has received grants and assistance loans which, from the mid-1960's, has been expanded to accommodate the financial operations of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank.

The book value of American direct and indirect investments rose from US\$ 188 to 306 million between 1953 to 1957. Within the same period, the average annual trade deficit was US\$ 91.08 million. Between 1950 and 1972, US investments rose by 500%, with manufacture registering an increase of more than 1200%. Foreign control over the economic life of the country was underscored by the fact that 415 of the largest 900 corporations had foreign (mainly American) equity, equivalent to almost 40% of the total capital stock. The Special Report on Philippine-US relations identified 166 corporations with American equity among the top 1000 firms in 1977. This group of 166 included 72 which were 99.99% to 100% foreign-owned. Out of this number, 64 are in the leading 200 and 5 in the top 10 in terms of assets.

Japanese investments have come a close second to the USA. The ratification of the *Republic of Philippines-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation* heavily favours Japan to the detriment of the local economy. The main method of penetration that has been used is the establishment of joint-venture firms, principally with the Philippine government, together with a section of the local financial elite. Japanese investments have established a foothold mainly in the electronics, metals, fishing and steel processing industries.

Recently, the USA has made increasing use of Australian aid and development projects to help bolster its economic as well as political interests. Australian-assisted projects in Samar and Zamboanga have helped pinpoint hitherto untapped potential resource areas while at the same time going hand-in-hand with the local regime's counter-insurgency operations.

The most visible manifestation of foreign domination has been and still is the existence of US bases on Philippine soil. Clark Air Force Base in Pampanga and the

Subic Naval Base in Zambales are two of the largest US military installations outside the USA. Apart from being a symbol of the subservience of Philippine foreign policy to that of the USA, these bases have traditionally been utilized as staging areas for US wars of aggression in Asia and the Pacific, as in Korea 1950 - 1953 and Vietnam 1965 - 1975, and more recently, for US military maneuvers as far as the Indian Ocean.

A major factor in the maintainance of foreign neocolonial interests is the existence of a ruling elite of comprador-landlords and government bureaucrats who have in the main ensured the perpetuation of the status quo. The present authoritarian regime of the Marcos ruling group is in fact the concentrated expression of the confluence of interests between neocolonialism and a section of the Philippine ruling elite. The imposition of martial law in 1972 set the stage for the establishment of a more exploitative and repressive social system that underscores the deleterious effects of neocolonialism on the economic and social life of the country. Over the past nine years, various decrees have granted the USA, Japan and other powers virtually unlimited access to the country's human and material resources.

The economy that has emerged between 1972 and 1981 is typified by the following :

- a) in 1974, out of a total Pesos 2.3 billion investment in the agricultural sector, and the mining, metal-based and chemical industries, Pesos 1.5 billion, or some 65%, came from foreign nationals;
- b) in fishing, there are currently 38 Japanese-Filipino joint ventures where Japanese equity ranges between 10% to 30%, but where foreign partners exercise virtually total control;
- c) in banking, though the legally prescribed limit on foreign ownership is 30%, foreign equity in the major banking institutions is estimated at 40%;
- d) in the oil industry, virtual monopoly control over oil exploration, refining and marketing is exercised by foreign giants;
- e) the drug and pharmaceutical industry is dominated by 14 transnationals with 70% ownership;
- f) in agriculture, the regime's land reform programme has been utilized as a vehicle for the large-scale promotion of various agri-business ventures favouring mainly US and Japanese products. For instance, under the government's "Masagana 99" rice programme agri-business made total sales of Pesos 2.1 billion in fertilizers and chemicals.

More insidious than surface figures on foreign equity and control in the strategic sectors of the economy has been the almost unlimited right given by the government for outward remittances of foreign firms. It is estimated that for every dollar brought in by multinational corporations, three dollars are taken out as profit remittances.

3. Foreign-funded development projects

A cursory glance at the development programmes of the present regime reveal the real beneficiaries, as exemplified by the following :

- a) **The Bataan nuclear power plant** : The Philippine government signed a US\$ 1.9 billion contract with the Westinghouse Electric Corporation for the erection of a nuclear power plant in Morong, Bataan, together with provisions for the supply of equipment, machinery and technical expertise. The project is primarily geared towards the energy requirements of the Bataan Export Processing Zone and other industrial areas in Luzon. Aside from the physical dangers posed by the plant, its actual benefit to the population is questionable. Only 2.4% of electricity presently generated is utilized for agriculture, fishing and forestry and only 5% of rural households actually have electricity. The people within the municipality of Morong, where the plant is located, are paying the social costs of ejection, land confiscation and relocation without decent alternative settlement sites. Fishermen's catch around the coastal areas affected by the plant has been reduced by 95% due to erosion from the reactor site.
- b) **The Chico Dam** : Funded by the IBRD, the Chico River Project has been promoted as one that will generate power to supply the increasing needs of industries in Luzon. The dam will in the process also submerge six sizeable Kalinga villages, affecting some 750 families, or some 4,000 people. The Kalingas, whose main source of livelihood involves the cultivation of the 300 hectares of rice terraces that will be flooded by the dam, will be dislocated and uprooted from their ancestral homes. The dam will also swallow 500 hectares of fruit trees and cash crops and deprive the Kalingas of their best hunting and fishing grounds. In an effort to stifle opposition to the project, the regime has systematically harrassed the people of the area, including beatings and even the murder of community leaders opposed to the project.
- c) **The Kawasaki sintering plant** : A US\$ 250 million ore sintering plant in Mindanao was set up by the Philippine Sintering Corporation, a subsidiary of the giant Japanese firm of Kawasaki. An application of Kawasaki for building the same plant in Japan was turned down by Japanese government for ecological reasons. The operations of the plant have adversely affected a number of towns and villages and deprived the local population of their main source of livelihood through fishing.
- d) **The Samar Integrated Rural Development Project and the Philippine-Australian Development Assistance Programme** : These major development assistance programmes of the Australian government aim to accelerate "rural development" on the major islands of Samar and Mindanao along lines specified by the World Bank. Both islands are rich in natural resources that are still relatively untapped. The project involves the building of infrastructures towards the interior areas of the two locations and has maintained close coordination with the government's anti-insurgency campaigns.

Apart from the dislocative effects of such projects on the local communities, such foreign-assisted projects have the broader effect of bloating the country's national debt, currently at US\$ 14 billion, and reinforcing its dependence on foreign capital requirements.

4. Effects of neocolonialism on the different sectors of Philippine society

While neocolonialism permeates every aspect of Philippine national life, it more significantly touches the everyday existence of each Filipino in every sector of Philippine society.

- a) **The workers** : Filipino workers are exploited as cheap labour by foreign transnational corporations. In the manufacturing sector, Filipino workers have the third highest productivity in Asia, but have the second lowest monthly wages. Of some 14 million workers in the country, 4 million receive wages below the prescribed minimum. Workers under apprenticeship status receive only Pesos 7.75 per day.

Workers are deprived in practice of such minimum rights as unionization, job security, compensation for death and injury, overtime pay, maternity and sick leaves with pay, regular medical care, retirement pensions and the like. The large number of unemployed and underemployed makes it easy for management to threaten dismissal or replacement, and thus keep wage levels at a minimum.

Rather than restoring the right to strike, a recently enacted law empowers the Ministry of Labour and Employment to put under compulsory arbitration all strikes in public utility firms, companies involved in energy production, banks, hospitals and companies within the export processing zones. Once any labour dispute is placed under "compulsory arbitration", the regime enjoys the right to break any pending strike or protest action for reasons of "national interest".

The low cost of Filipino labour and the promise of industrial peace at workers' expense are the main attractions for foreign investment.

- b) **The peasantry** : Filipino peasants are still under the throes of a centuries-old system of feudal oppression and exploitation. Recent estimates place tenancy at about 60% of rice and corn lands, i.e. about 3 million tenants. The ranks of the landless agricultural workers have swelled from 420,000 in 1903 to 1.6 million in 1948 to 3.5 million in 1976. This latter category includes permanent workers in export and commercial farms, seasonal and migrant workers in both export and food crop areas, forestry and fishery workers who have been alienated from their smallholdings or from tenant farms.

The tendency towards land concentration has been linked to the maintenance of an export-crop economy along basically colonial lines, but more recently employing the agri-business approach. Not only have most of the newly opened lands since the 1960's been devoted to commercial crops, but areas previously preserved for foodcrops have in many cases been converted into commercial plantations or similar agri-business ventures. The IBRD in 1976 reported that, while harvested food crop area rose by an annual rate of only 0.4% during the 1960's, that of export crops grew by almost 5% a year.

At the heart of the regime's development strategy for the rural areas has been its land reform programme. After almost 10 years of operation, the programme has resulted in a mere 0.00022% actual transfer of ownership to tenant farmers of rice and corn lands. In addition, the programme has contributed substantially to

institutionalizing traditional forms of exploitation and oppression such as usury, compulsory menial services and other types of servitude. For example, the average crop production loan per farmer borrower of Pesos 1,475 is 36% higher than the average annual family income of Pesos 1,083.

Government anti-insurgency campaigns have invariably involved the displacement of farmers from their farms and places of residence. Numerous cases of arrest, torture, kidnapping and outright murder have been brought to the attention of international fora by various groups and individuals. Recently, it culminated in the massacre of 35 persons in the town of Las Navas in Samar.

- c) **The intelligentsia** : The middle class in Philippine society has not been spared the effects of neocolonialism domination. A growing number of students and low-income professionals are rapidly being driven into the ranks of workers and the unemployed. Those able to complete higher education have increasing difficulties finding employment.

Because of the commercialized educational system inherited from colonial times, the steadily increasing costs of education force many students to abandon their studies. This has been one of the major issues fuelling the recent student protest actions in Manila and other cities.

Moreover, students' rights to form their own independent representative councils as well as the right to publish free campus newspapers have been systematically suppressed by the present regime. A proposed Education Act seeks further to institutionalize the suppressive mechanisms of government within the school campuses.

Among professionals, particularly teachers, office clerks, and health personnel, salary levels are rapidly approximating the wage levels of factory workers. A recent survey reveals that very few private educational institutions provide starting salaries that will allow teachers to breach the poverty line for a family of six. Despite their low pay, public school teachers are made to shoulder government-sponsored extra-curricular expenses.

The misdirection of the current system of education is patently manifested in an ever larger number of Filipino health personnel that are compelled to go abroad. Approximately 9,500 Filipino doctors are working or living in other, usually more developed countries, such as the USA. This number represents about 68% of the country's total number of doctors. The Philippines is the largest donor of nursing personnel to other countries, estimated at as high as 80% of its graduates. The inordinately large number of professionals in the health sector that migrate or work abroad under various contractual arrangements stands in stark contrast to the low level of health care available to the people at home.

- d) **Women** : Although women are in the statistical majority, they do not enjoy equality in a society dominated by colonial and feudal values. The average salary per week of women workers amounts to Pesos 160.00, while that for men averages Pesos 296.00. Most female workers are hired on a temporary-status basis. The high rate of unemployment among women prevents them from acquiring more benefits and engaging in collective bargaining and unionization. This is

particularly true in industries that employ primarily women workers, such as the garment and textile industry. 70% of agricultural women workers are unpaid while 15% are self-employed. 64% of teachers are women. Among professionals, they are the lowest paid and have minimal chances of promotion.

Filipino household helpers have been exported, often illegally, in ever larger numbers, mainly to Hong Kong, the Middle East, Italy, Canada, Spain and the USA. As a consequence of the priority given by the government to the tourism industry, so-called "hospitality girls" flourish in areas where foreigners are heavily concentrated, e.g. around US military installations in Olongapo and Angeles City. There are 16,000 "hospitality girls" in Olongapo, registered under the Office of Social Hygiene, in addition to some 3,000 waitresses working as non-registered prostitutes, the youngest barely fourteen years of age.

As these data show, while bearing the burden of exploitation and oppression common to their particular social class, Filipino women are more vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and oppression on a sexual basis.

- e) **National minorities** : Similar to the situation of Filipino peasants, the various Filipino national minorities are constantly faced with the prospect of losing their ancestral lands either to multinational firms or to unscrupulous Filipinos interested in the timber and mineral resources in areas inhabited by them. At the forefront of the regime's campaign to expel various minority groups from their lands is the *Presidential Assistance for National Minorities*.

In Southern Philippines, the Marcos government has launched a genocidal war against the Moro people through offshore bombardment of Muslim villages and the use of napalm and other chemical weapons.

5. The struggle of the Filipino people

Worsening economic conditions and political repression heightened by rampant military abuse have broadened and sharpened the people's awareness of their plight. On this basis active resistance against neocolonialism has steadily grown.

Geographically, the number of people opposing the present regime has extended throughout the length and breadth of the archipelago. Peasant protest marches in Cagayan and in Camarines Norte against feudal abuse take place while the local populace of Morong in Bataan and the Kalingas in the Cordilleras pursue their struggle against government development programmes. The Moro people in Mindanao persist in their fight for national and social liberation while the sugar workers in Negros strike for higher wages and better living conditions.

Sectorally, the workers' strike movement is developing rapidly. On May 1st, 1981 one of the largest rallies of the past decade was held, not only to demand higher wages and the repeal of anti-labour legislation, but to denounce the impending elections as a fraud intended to legitimize martial rule. In more than 100 colleges and universities, students and youth are militantly exposing the commercial and colonial system of education. Students in Metro Manila schools have launched a series of protest actions against increases in tuition fees and the continuing suppression of their democratic rights.

Along with the growing militancy of the legal opposition, the underground and armed resistance in the cities and the countryside have been winning adherents.

The history of neocolonialism in Asia and the Pacific region, as typified in the Philippine example, has been a history of economic exploitation and political repression largely carried out by local elites in the interests of a dominant foreign power. It is, however, also a history of the people's heroic struggle against poverty, backwardness and social deprivation, as well as against those social forces that perpetuate an unjust and exploitative status quo.

The international community has a significant role to play in helping the people of the underdeveloped countries overcome the tremendous disadvantages they face in an uneven struggle.

There is an urgent need, for example, to facilitate an exchange of experience among people struggling for a common cause. There is also the need to achieve a more rapid communication among various movements internationally. Working people of Japan or Australia, for instance, should be put directly in touch with those of Burma or Thailand. Students and youth or consumer groups of various countries in the region should be enabled to communicate with each other in order to facilitate an exchange of views on a people-to-people basis (e.g. between Malaysia and the Philippines). Meeting these needs would contribute to the building of links of mutual support and solidarity, initially within the Asian and Pacific regions, and eventually with the rest of the Third World.

III. THE ROLE OF JAPAN IN THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION

by Yuji Suzuki

1. The issue of Japan's dumping of nuclear waste into Pacific waters has raised serious criticism among the Pacific Island people. The bitter question : "Are the Japanese going to change from nuclear victims to nuclear assailants ?" has shocked the Japanese people. Their benign neglect for those "remote" island interests had prevented them from seeing the serious consequences such dumping brings to human life. Undoubtedly, the concern here is not merely with technical "safety", assurance of which has been repeatedly given by the Japanese government, but is directly related to the basic issue of human survival, the main preoccupation of the Japanese people themselves.

2. Recent developments in Japan suggest that militarization is on the ascendancy. These developments are threefold. First, Japan is intensifying and extending her defensive capabilities, necessary for the accomplishment of the newly formulated "Comprehensive Security System". The main pillar of this system is the politico-military alliance with the USA. Another is the intensive modernization of Japan's Self-Defence Forces, whose expenditure in 1980 amounted to nearly US\$ 9 billion, the eighth largest military budget in the world today. Under the system, more joint military manoeuvres will be organized with countries including the USA and Australia, especially naval exercises in the Pacific such as "Rim Pac 80". These are meant to extend Japan's "zone of defence", whereby Japan enhances her own efforts for the protection of sea-lanes in Asian and Pacific waters, through which pass nearly 80% of her vital resources. These moves will undoubtedly attract to the region the global nuclear arms race.

3. Secondly, Japan is enhancing her political leadership in the region. Contrary to the "low key" posture which had characterized post-war Japanese external relations, the Japanese government has recently taken a more active political role, necessary for the maintenance of the status quo in a region where Japan has already established her dominant influence. The "Pan-Pacific Community" is a concept to serve this purpose. By setting up a regional framework in which the interests of countries in the region are to be inter-related horizontally, the vested interests of advanced industrialized countries like the USA and Japan can retain their dominance without being exposed to the criticism of colonialism or neocolonialism.

4. Thirdly, in line with the "Pan-Pacific Community" concept, recent changes in the pattern of Japan's "economic cooperation" should not be underestimated. A shift of emphasis has occurred, whereby the government places less importance on "humani-

tarian values”, concentrating more on Japan’s own interests, especially the maintenance of the present international economic order, into which her extended economic interests have been integrated. “Economic cooperation” is an important means Japan can utilize for the enhancement of her regional leadership. The emerging pattern of this “economic cooperation”, combining political orientation with economic interests, can be seen most clearly in the search of alternative energy, i.e. nuclear power. Japan’s collaboration with President Chun Doo Hwan’s regime in South Korea will be enhanced, including a plan to set up a Japanese nuclear processing plant, most probably on Cheju Island. The Suzuki government has also intensified its cooperation with “repressive-developmental regimes” in South East Asia, especially the ASEAN five, to whom the Japanese nuclear industry is planning to export small-sized nuclear reactors.

5. The rise of Japan’s role in the region, however, is not without serious dilemmas. Some of them are inherent in the very process of her rise, others consequent from it. It is imperative to shed light on them from the aspect of the structural relationships Japan has built in the region. The most basic element, among others, is the nature of her economic relations. The very strategy of the “international division of labour” locks Japan into relations which in turn demand from her increasing expenditures to buttress the industrialization of those developing countries in the region. A development of their economies along lines congruent with Japan’s strategy must be supported, even at the risk of over-commitments in their domestic political processes. As a consequence, Japan will be facing increasingly direct criticism from the people of the region. In addition, her political ascendancy will certainly increase pressures in favour of greater militarization, which will in the long run inhibit her success in achieving her own economic goals.

6. From these observations, it is clear that Japan’s rise in the region contains a number of serious weaknesses. With an understanding of this, it may be useful to formulate joint actions on such issues as Japanese nuclear waste dumping. This issue is indeed providing opportunities for strengthening internal liberalization in the Pacific countries and for intensifying “counterpenetration”, whereby the Japanese people concerned with Japan’s militarization could find partners for their struggle.

IV. AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC : AN OVERVIEW OF THE ISSUES

by Alan Matheson

"Australia is not a global power but a middle power. It has to look at its priorities. And it is not unreasonable that these should be South-East Asia and the South Pacific... events in World War II proved that this is an arena of potentially great strategic significance."
(Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, August, 1981.)

1. Preamble

European Australia became involved in the Pacific during the first decades of settlement. In 1801, trade relations were first established with a shipment of salt port sent from Tahiti to Sydney. In 1863, Pacific Islanders were rounded up by the thousands and shipped to Northern Australian plantations. Slavery was to be the significant feature of Australian development for the next four or five decades. Hundreds were to die before it was halted at the turn of the century. Commercial expansion, missionary activity and paternal government interest in the Pacific continued until the early 1940's.

With the Japanese armada sweeping across the Pacific, Australians very quickly became better acquainted with Pacific geography. The beaches of Tarawa, Guadalcanal and Hollandia soon appeared in the headlines and casualty lists. Following the war, the first nuclear blast in the Pacific, and the defeat of the Japanese, the Pacific appears to have slipped from any active Australian interest until the early 1970's.

The following is not an exhaustive analysis of Australian involvement in the Pacific but it is an endeavour to provide an overview of the relationship as it stands at the beginning of the present decade.

2. Economic involvement

"We are probably witnessing the start of the second 'scramble for the Pacific' just a hundred years after the first such carve up. This time populous and powerful Asian nations will join those of America and Europe, together with multinational corporations based round the world, and themselves as powerful as medium sized nations, targeted on natural resource exploitation." (A.V. Hughes, Permanent Secretary at the Finance Ministry, Solomon Islands, 1979.)

The following tables warrant little further comment :

AUSTRALIAN EXPORTS TO THE SOUTH PACIFIC, 1974-1977

	Australian Exports (\$'000)		
	1974-1975	1975-1976	1976-1977
Papua New Guinea	193 806	174 719	189 907
Fiji	60 542	51 655	68 002
New Caledonia	19 109	21 912	21 926
Nauru	11 195	13 598	8 809
Solomon Islands	8 541	7 746	8 675
New Hebrides	9 111	6 870	8 401
Gilbert and Ellice Islands *	5 943	5 381	6 094
French Polynesia	5 400	5 347	8 031
Western Samoa	6 009	4 521	4 082
Tonga	3 353	2 035	2 703
American Samoa	1 474	793	1 352
Cook Islands	312	119	111
Wallis and Futuna Islands	127	191	260
Tokelau Islands and Niue	6	11	13
TOTAL	324 928	294 898	328 366

* Now Tuvalu : separate statistics not available.

Source : Department of Overseas Trade.

(Source : *AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC*, Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, AGPS 1978, p. 47-48)

AUSTRALIAN IMPORTS FROM THE SOUTH PACIFIC, 1974-1977

	Australian Imports (\$'000 f.o.b.)		
	1974-1975	1975-1976	1976-1977
Nauru	34 920	23 355	15 972
Papua New Guinea	34 179	36 299	80 277
Fiji	10 080	10 501	9 531
Gilbert and Ellice Islands *	8 339	9 738	10 089
Tonga	1 275	59	78
New Caledonia	1 150	391	66
American Samoa	326	481	1 184
Solomon Islands	228	357	274
Western Samoa	173	256	143

New Hebrides	153	53	90
French Polynesia	46	20	13
Guam	32	1 002	47
Cook Islands	-	2	17
Niue and Tokelau Islands	-	-	-
Wallis and Futuna Islands	-	-	-
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	-	-	-
TOTAL	90 901	82 514	117 781

* Now Tuvalu : separate statistics not available.

Source : Department of Overseas Trade.

(Source : *AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC*, Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, AGPS 1978, p. 47-48)

As Walter Cohen has noted, "the large trade deficits of the Pacific Islands mean lucrative export markets for the capitalist nations. American and French businessmen are active in their countries' possessions while Australia and New Zealand have traditionally been, and to some extent still are, the prime beneficiaries of the Pacific Island economies." ¹ In addition, investment undertakings in light industry, agriculture, retailing, tourism, mining, banking, construction and aviation have been actively encouraged by successive Australian governments.

As the following figures show, the countries of the South Pacific have been the recipients of a substantial share of Australian overseas investment :

AUSTRALIAN INVESTMENTS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC, 1973-1976

	1973-1974	\$ A'000 1974-1975 total investment flow	1975-1976	1975-1976 cumulative investment level
Papua New Guinea	53 874	-10 888	34 759	245 631
Fiji	4 876	2 334	3 181	28 000
Tonga and Cook Islands	3 323	-1 254	5 851	16 187
Solomon Islands	16	812	36	8 164
New Hebrides	766	1 500	1 168	5 543
New Caledonia and Norfolk Island	-1 075	63	-232	335
TOTAL	61 780	-7 433	44 763	303 860
Australia's total private direct investment overseas		105 000	133 000	1 131 000

NOTE : Other investment — There are no separate figures available for other Australian investment in the South Pacific Region. Such investment would comprise investment by Australian residents in real estate and in company shares in the South Pacific countries.

Source : ABS (from submission provided by Department of the Treasury).

(Source : *AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC*, Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, AGPS 1977, p. 19)

By 1980, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrew Peacock was confidently reporting “that some three quarters of total cumulative Australian direct investment... has been concentrated in the Pacific region.” (*Australian Foreign Affairs Review*, September 1980, p. 358)

The most active and certainly the most visible of all Australian commercial activity in the Pacific have been companies such as Burns Philps and W.R. Carpenter. Appearing before the *Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence*, a spokesperson for Burns Philps admitted that “as an Australian commercial enterprise we must also accept criticism for what is largely termed ‘Australia’s economic dominance in the South Pacific’ and accept that we and other Australian companies have not always favourably projected a good image or directed our activities to the overall benefit of the region .” 2

While there have been attempts to defend their policies, there is little doubt that Australian shareholders have profited handsomely from the Pacific. The extent of the exploitation of resources and markets and the overall role of Pacific profits has been examined by the Pacific Conference of Churches. They concluded : “Burns Philps’ sales turnover in Fiji in 1978 of F\$ 48.02 million produced a profit of A\$ 2.26 million (Note : the exchange rate between Fiji dollars and Australian dollars does not distort the figures significantly). Meanwhile, profits of A\$ 1.67 million were made in Australia on a turnover of A\$ 270 million plus. The same year profits of A\$ 1.31 million were made in Vanuatu and A\$ 3.40 million in Papua New Guinea. *Altogether about 80% of Burns Philps’ profits came from its Pacific Island operations, while the contribution of ventures in the USA, New Zealand and the UK was negligible.*” 3

Whether it be Burns Philps or W.R. Carpenter, the situation is the same : it is the South Pacific economies which are the key factor in relation to profits and not the variety of subsidiaries scattered in the “developed West”. 4

Both of these companies have investments of between \$ 50 million and \$ 100 million in the Pacific. Both monopolize numerous sectors of the Pacific Island economies. Their success has been based on, “their long experience in and detailed knowledge of the Pacific Island economies and national elites; the relative lack of competition they face; they have made fully use of the linkages between their interests in plantations, insurance, trading, hotels, shipping, etc. and their close relationships with Australian banks and financial institutions.” 5

These latter institutions, including banking and insurance, have not been the subject of any detailed analysis. In the past few months, for example, the following transactions have been reported and are really just the tip of more substantial involvement :

- a) The Australian-based Export Finance and Insurance Corporation has provided a loan of US\$ 35 million to the Fiji government to finance the construction of a water supply system by a consortium of three Australian contractors. This is “the biggest Fiji contract to come Australia’s way... it is also one of the largest contracts of its type to be carried out in the Pacific basin.” (*Pacific Island Monthly*, August 1981)
- b) Bougainville Copper Ltd. announced that it had given a mandate to the Bank of America and the Commonwealth Trading Bank of Australia to lead, manage and underwrite a new syndicated US\$ 125 million revolving credit facility. (*P.I.M.*, May 1981)
- c) The National Bank of Solomon Islands came into being on March 1981; 49% is owned by the Solomon Island Government and 51% by the Commonwealth Banking Corporation. (*P.I.M.*, May 1981)
- d) Companies in Australia and New Zealand at present maintain major insurance operations in the Pacific islands. Both Kiribati and Tonga are moving against this monopoly. However, significant links are likely to be maintained by continuing to use major overseas companies as underwriters and insurance resources. (*P.I.M.*, August 1981)

In an attempt to handle “the political embarrassment in Australia over the fact that the value of its exports to the Pacific is much higher than the value of its imports” (*P.I.M.*, March 1981), Australia took a leading role in the setting up of the *South Pacific Regional Trade and Co-operation Agreement (SPARTECA)*. Coming into effect in 1981, the aim of this agreement is “to progressively widen opportunities for Pacific Island Countries to sell goods, to produce free of duty and to have unrestricted access to Australian and New Zealand.”

The implications have yet to be assessed. According to Kate Moore, “Australian investment and import policies have had serious effects on the depletion of resources in the South Pacific. Through the unequal advantage of price determination in the past, Australian companies in co-operation with other overseas operations have been able to obtain cheap raw materials in large quantities. Super phosphate from Nauru and Ocean Island are two of the best examples. This has had marked benefits for Australian farmers, but has left the local population with a relatively small share of the profits, large denuded land areas, and in the case of the Barabans, a long tedious legal battle over royalties.” 6

However, the largest corporative profits in the Pacific are yet to be realized. Following the 1980 round of talks on the *Law of the Sea Treaty*, it was reported that, “the toughest of the outstanding issues will continue to be the minerals on the Pacific floor. They could be worth billions of dollars to Western companies, and also increase the West’s self-sufficiency in minerals.” 7

Commenting on the breakdown of the Treaty talks in 1981, a leading member of the Council of International Ocean Institute, Lord Ritchie Calder, wrote, “we are dealing not just with the conventional freedom of the seas... but with food, minerals and metals, energy, trade communications, science, policy technology transfer, multinational corporations, disarmament and arms control, East, West, North, South confrontations, and marine pollution... The sticking point remained : how to manage and allocate the

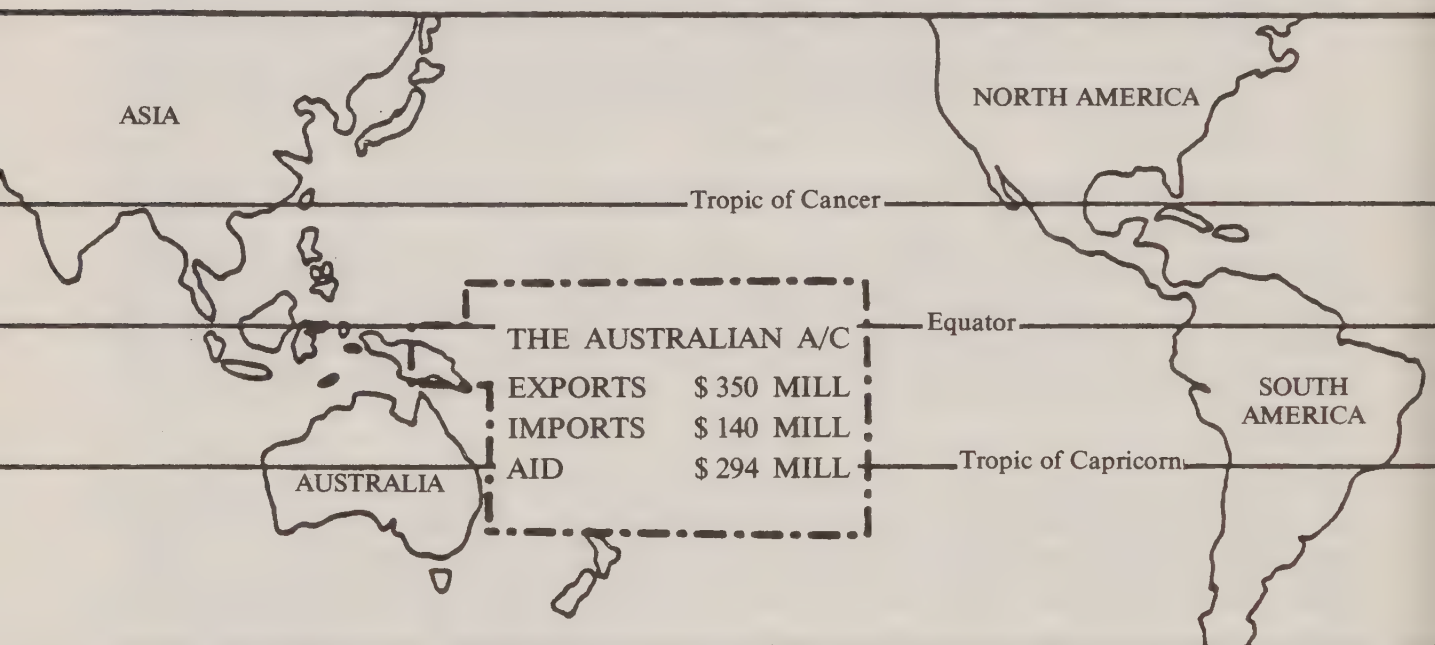
phenomenal wealth of minerals cobbling vast areas of the deep sea floor... the klondyke is an area of three million square kilometres in the mid latitudes of the Pacific.” (Guardian, March 12, 1981)

3. Australian aid

“Australia and New Zealand have traditionally employed aid as a means of defending or furthering their economic interests in Oceania.” 8

Aid is an integral aspect of Australian economic involvement in the Pacific. According to evidence placed before the Senate Committee, increased Australian aid and development funds in the Pacific were due to “Australia’s concern over the growing Soviet and Chinese interest in the region, protecting vested interests, attempting to buy goodwill and trying to influence or dominate regional affairs.” 9

The following diagram sets Australian aid into perspective :



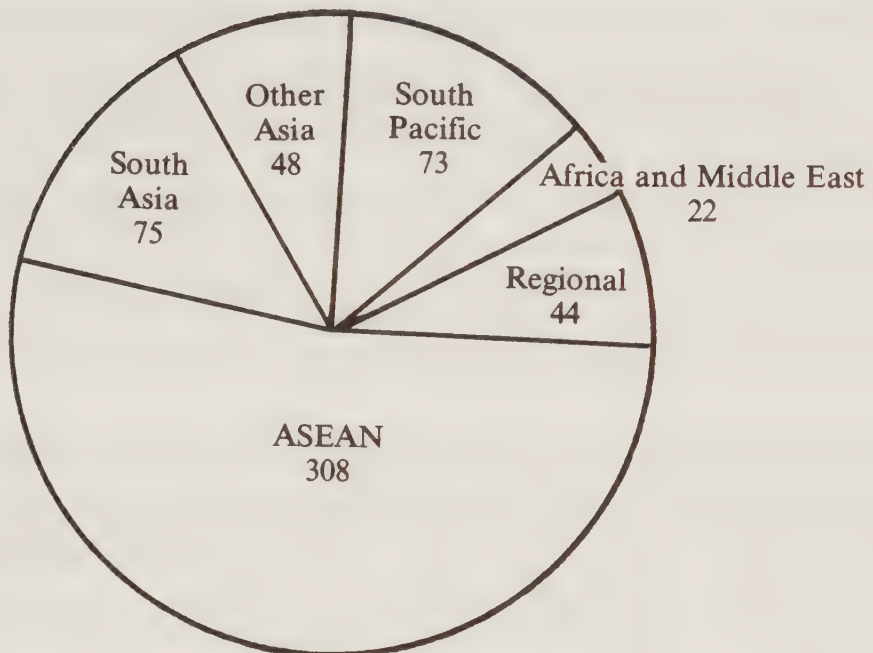
(Source : Pacific Island Monthly, October 1981, p. 37)

It is extremely difficult to get an accurate overview of either the diversity of aid and development flow or the totality of movement. No detailed non-governmental statistics are available and government aid is spread across a number of departments including Defence.

The Australian Development Assistance Bureau (ADAB), the aid instrument of the Department of Foreign Affairs, does however provide some indication of the aid movement for which it is responsible.

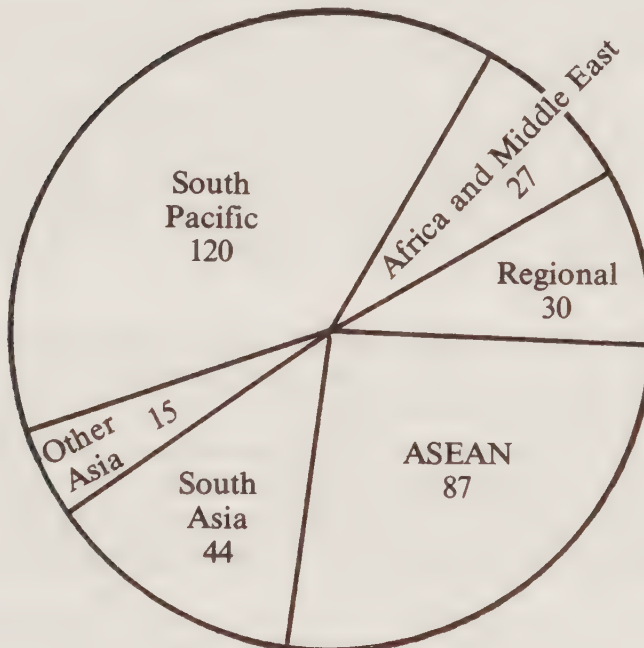
Australia's Bilateral Project Aid
total contribution by Australia to current projects

ESTIMATED COST
(\$ million)



Total Australian Contribution : \$ 570 million

NUMBER OF PROJECTS



Approved projects at 1 July 1981 : 323

(Source : *Australia's Overseas Development Assistance Programme 1981-82*, Budget Paper No. 8, AGPS, Canberra 1981)

In addition to these bilateral funding arrangements, some A\$ 8 million is provided through various regional organizations (South Pacific Commission, South Pacific Bureau of Economic Cooperation and other South Pacific Regional Programmes), A\$ 3.5 million through non-governmental organizations, and A\$ 254 million to Papua New Guinea (nearly a third of its total budget).

Australia is at present the principal source of developmental aid funds in the South Pacific. While the government will assert that humanitarian considerations are important in directing Australian aid, there can be little doubt that political and strategic factors are important. (See further *P.I.M.*, October 1980, p. 29)

Nonie Sharp, commenting on an Australian aid seminar, concluded that “in coming years the wishes of the people in Pacific countries are likely to bear heavily on those bodies traditionally concerned with aid. They are likely to require a fundamental re-orientation of traditional thinking... the critical reason for this relates to the clash in standpoint of the peoples of the Pacific area with the Australian government’s policies towards them.”¹⁰

The nature of the aid relationship can best be illustrated by Australian reaction when it was learned that the Prime Minister of Vanuatu, Mr. Walter Lini, would raise the issue of aboriginal land rights at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee — one of the more prestigious committees of the Australian parliament — responded, “if the Vanuatu Prime Minister does raise the issue he runs the risk of being seen by the Australian electorate as ungrateful for the assistance and aid Australia has given his country.” (*The Age*, September 12, 1981)

With a substantial increase in Australian aid being made available through non-governmental organizations in 1981, there appears to be little evidence of any critical analysis by those organizations of their role in Australian foreign policy.

Unlike in the USA, where there has developed a critical wariness and increasingly outright rejection by non-governmental agencies of involvement with US-AID, for example, Australian non-governmental agencies, including churches, give little indication of being aware of the covert manipulation of which governments of all political shades are capable.

Much more analysis of the political and strategic factors implicit in Australian aid activities in the South Pacific needs to be done. There is a critical need to heed the lessons of US-AID and NGO (including churches) involvement in South East Asia (Vietnam) and Latin America: “the man of peace who specializes in small-scale rural development, may be an equally effective Trojan-horse salesman of an ultimately one-sided relationship. Some recent moves by the USA in funding non-governmental organizations based in the USA and elsewhere need to be held up to the light carefully.”¹¹

4. Militarization

“The pattern of capitalist economic penetration of Oceania in recent decades largely parallels the military programmes and policies that have dominated the post-war Pacific.” Walter Cohen

The organizing committee of the Pacific Trade Union Conference reported in early 1981 on the nuclearization of the Pacific; “the region has born the brunt of the nuclear age... it was the staging ground for the first atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Pacific has been used for hundreds of nuclear tests... it is the target for the proliferation of nuclear power... it is viewed as an ideal dumping ground for radioactive waste... *Australia is seen as one of the main sources of uranium to fuel the nuclear industry.*” 12

To understand Australia’s role in the militarization of the Pacific, one needs first to understand that “a fundamental underpinning of Australian national security policy” is the relationship with the United States of America. Central to that relationship are the US military and intelligence installations in Australia. Seven such bases were named in answer to a Parliamentary question in 1978 :

- a) Naval Communications Station ‘Harold E. Holt’, North Cape.
- b) Joint Defence Space Research Facility, Alice Springs (Pine Gap).
- c) Joint Defence Space Communications Station, Woomera (known as Nurrunga).
- d) Joint Geological and Geophysical Research Station, Alice Springs (known as USAF Detachment 421).
- e) TRANET Station 112 at Smithfield, South Australia.
- f) Portable geodetic satellite observation posts, currently operating at Perth and Townsville.

But according to Desmond Ball, this list is far from complete. It excludes “the three National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) satellite tracking stations in the A.C.T. (Orroral Valley, Honeysuckle Creek and Tidbinbilla), and a network of half a dozen seismic stations operated by the US Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). Currently under construction are also a solar observatory at Learmonth, W.A., and an Omega VLF navigation station in Gippsland, Victoria. In addition, the American National Security Agency (NSA), the super-secret American electronic intelligence organization, operates from a number of signals intelligence (SIGINT) posts inside Australia.” 13

Australian bases also service the nuclear submarine fleets of the US Navy and the B52 nuclear bomber of the US Air Force.

ANZUS, the formal defence agreement with the USA also includes New Zealand. At its most recent meeting, US Secretary of State Alexander Haig, said that the contribution which Australia and New Zealand were making to the Pacific region through ANZUS commitments was indispensable. (See further *P.I.M.*, August 1981, p. 29ff)

Integral to this relationship with the USA is the need and desire for “a secure and peaceful environment” (read : “Keep out the Soviet Union”). Australia’s *main* interests in the island states of the South-West Pacific *involve security considerations*. Because it is very important from Australia’s point of view that the United States maintains its strategic advantage over its superpower rival in the general Pacific area, we wish to avoid a situation where any of the independent states becomes susceptible to predominant influence by the Soviet Union.” 14

The "Soviet Threat" has been astutely used by some of the island states to obtain increased aid from Australia. In 1976 Tonga was able to use a visit by the Soviet Ambassador to New Zealand to encourage both more aid and a revaluation by Australia and New Zealand of their defence attitude to the South Pacific.

During ANZUS discussions at the time, the USA agreed that the "Communist challenge" could best be met with increased aid; the following triennium saw a fourfold aid increase. The level of diplomatic contact was stepped up, and in 1977 Australia initiated "a small defence cooperation scheme" specifically for the region's micro-states.

Apart from Papua New Guinea, where some A\$ 12 million (1978-79) was set aside for this defence programme, the first six months of 1981, for example, has seen :

- a) R.A.N. diving teams in Kiribati and the Solomon Islands (*Pacific Defence Reporter*, August 1981, p. 57);
- b) Army engineer teams operating in Fiji and Tonga (*P.D.R.*, September 1981, p. 69);
- c) A team of army surveyors also in Fiji and Tonga (*P.D.R.*, September 1981, p. 70); and
- d) Army reserve in a training exercise ("Pacific Reserve") with the US Army in Hawaii (*P.D.R.*, September 1981, p. 77).

The "Soviet Threat" was again raised at the recent meeting of the South Pacific Forum. The 13 nations unanimously agreed to reject all Soviet offers of aid on the ground that it would soon lead to the Soviet Union establishing a "foothold in the South Pacific".

"We are extremely pleased", said the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Street, "that the Forum has decided to continue its rejection of Soviet aid — it was a view we strongly supported. We have said many times that the interests of the island states are best served by sticking to their traditional friends, and the history of Soviet involvement is one that leads to trouble and instability." (*The Age*, August 12, 1981)

Both this issue and Australia's refusal to support a move to ensure a *UN Committee of 24* consideration of the independence of New Caledonia indicated to some observers "that Australia remains a dominant force able to pull enough island nations into line to get what it wants in the region." (*The Tribune*, August 19, 1981)

However, within days of the end of this Forum meeting, both Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands were raising the issue of "Russian Aid". Vanuatu was warning that it would not be "dragged along" by Australian policy and as an "independent" reserved the right to develop relations and seek aid from other sources, including the Eastern bloc. (*The Age*, September 12, 1981)

Following a political change in the Solomon Islands, the new Prime Minister Solomon Manaloni was reported as saying, "at the moment we aren't getting enough aid from our traditional friends and there are too many strings attached... we could look beyond the traditional friends and look to new friends... including the Soviet bloc." (*The Sun*, September 2, 1981)

While the "Soviet threat" has dominated the development of Australia's national security policy, a number of other issues have had their influence: The continuing resistance by the O.P.M. (the West Papua resistance organization) and the resulting border tensions between Papua New Guinea and Indonesia; the involvement of the Papua New Guinea army in Vanuatu; the fragility of the present political alliances within Fiji; missile testing by China in the Pacific (even though both USSR and the USA have used missile testing ranges in the Pacific for many years); and the presence of the French in New Caledonia and "French" Polynesia, have influenced Australian policy.

Both Papua New Guinea and Australia, officially and unofficially, have in recent months raised the issue of a "peace keeping force" or a "ready deployment force" in the Pacific. A proposal by Papua New Guinea to establish such a force was rejected by the Forum meeting in 1981.

Australian defence experts are arguing that Australia should respond to US pressure and cooperate in "peace keeping forces" in Namibia and Sinai (Fiji has already agreed to participate in the Sinai force). It is argued that while these are remote, they should be regarded as "practice runs against possible emergencies closer to home." (*The Age*, August 6, 1981)

It is however the issue of the nuclear-free Pacific which reveals the contradictions of Australian foreign policy. On the one hand, as a strong supporter of the ASEAN nations and heavily dependent on Japanese markets for its mineral resources, Australia has readily entered into agreements for the supply of "yellow cake" to Japan (330 tonnes annually). At present, Australian uranium contracts are worth some A\$ 2,500 million.

On the other hand, as a member of a number of Pacific regional organizations, Australia has come under pressure to support moves condemning both France's nuclear testing programme and the proposed dumping of nuclear waste by Japan and the USA in the Pacific. It has also been urged "to close down all installations which launch commands, provide electronic guidance or navigational signals... for they are just as important as missiles, aircraft and warheads." (See further "The Peoples Treaty for a Nuclear Free Pacific".)

But by far the greatest determinant in Australia's response to the nuclear free issue has been the policy of the USA. Bases have been established over which Australia has no control; "one of the most disturbing features of the American installations is the lack of political control exercised by the Government over their establishment, operation and maintenance." 15

Desmond Ball, Senior research fellow of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University concluded that "the removal of the US installations would not only simultaneously remove a major obstacle to greater regional cooperation but would also allow Australia to pursue a much more independent foreign policy generally." 16

In short, the Pacific is a target for "nuclearization" and despite protests to the contrary, Australia, in active collaboration with the US defence and intelligence strategists, has played and will continue to play a leading role in that development." 17

5. Trade unions and churches

Two further areas of involvement need briefly to be mentioned, one a more recent development than the other. Both trade unions and churches in Australia have been active in support of Pacific trade unions and churches as far as the independence struggles and the demand for a nuclear free Pacific are concerned.

During the past twelve months, there has been a significant upsurge of trade union activity in the Pacific. French trade unions visited New Caledonia and "French" Polynesia at the end of 1980. A preparatory meeting of all Pacific trade unions, including all islands, Australia, New Zealand and Japan was held in November 1980. In 1981, union action, including strikes, have taken place in Western Samoa, Guam, Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Vanuatu.

But by far the most significant development has been the action to set up a *Pacific Trade Union Forum*. Integral to this development has been a declared plan of action by all Pacific trade unions to coordinate efforts to oppose the nuclearization of the Pacific and to support independence struggles in New Caledonia, Micronesia and "French" Polynesia. 18

Church involvement in the Pacific goes back to the last century. While it is important not to idealize the influence of the church in the Pacific, it is equally important not to ignore the significance it plays in Pacific society.

The churches of the Pacific have been actively involved in their support of independence movements, they have been responsible for obtaining World Council of Churches support for the independence organizations in both Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and they have actively campaigned both within the region and at an international level for a nuclear free Pacific.

While Australian churches have generally supported these initiatives, much of their involvement is still committed to supporting historical mission activities and actively cooperating with the Australian government's aid programme.

Both Australian trade unions and churches will need to devote more resources, engage in more systematic analysis and action, and be more concrete in their support for the critical decisions confronting the Pacific, if they are to continue their solidarity with Pacific Islanders.

6. Conclusion

According to A.V. Hughes, whom we have already quoted above, "we are probably witnessing the start of the second 'scramble for the Pacific', just a hundred years after the first such carve up. This time populous and powerful Asian nations will join those of America and Europe, together with multinational corporations... targeted on natural resource exploitation." Hughes continues, "it is quite possible that the next ten years will see most of the apparent political gains of the 1970's evaporating under economic pressures and the emergence of a series of client states in the South Pacific, each beholden to one or more of the outside powers, just as effectively as they ever were in colonial days." 19

Clearly also, the Pacific is emerging as a critical strategic region. If the issue of nuclearization of the Pacific is not resolved and the creation of a nuclear free zone is not achieved, the Pacific could well become “*the staging ground for the Third and Last World War*”.

Notes :

1. Walter Cohen, “Oceania in the World System: Part II”, *Pacific Research*, Vol. VIII, No. 5, 1977, p. 3
2. *AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC*, Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, AGPS 1977, p. 20
3. James E. Winkler, “Towards Understanding Transnational Corporations in the Pacific”, Pacific Conference of Churches, Suva, 1981, p.9
4. See further, R.C. Wanigatunga, “Transnationals and the Plantation and Trading Sectors in the Pacific Island Economies on a Selected Basis”, Suva, 1980
5. James E. Winkler, “In Whose Interest”, *Asian Development Information*, No. 82, August 1981, p. 4
6. Kate Moore, “Australian Control of Pacific Economies”, *Dissent*, No. 35, Autumn 1977, p. 27
7. Iain Guest, “Law of Sea Treaty seen bobbing in Ocean of Conflict, Uncertainty”, *International Herald Tribune*, September 4, 1980
8. Walter Cohen, op. cit., p. 2
9. *AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC*, op. cit., p. 39
10. Nonie Sharp, “The Aid Debate : The Bonds of Charity”, *Arena* 50, 1978, p. 52
11. A.V. Hughes, “Scramble for the Pacific”, *ASIA AND THE PACIFIC 1981*, World of Information, England 1980, p. 26
12. *Pacific Trade Union Conference*, Vanuatu, 1981, p. 7
13. See further detail in Desmond Ball, “TARGET AUSTRALIA ? Pinpointing the US Installations”, *Pacific Defence Reporter*, September 1981, p. 25 ff.
14. *Australia and the Third World*, Report of the Committee on Australia’s Relations with the Third World, AGPS, 1979, p. 117
15. Desmond Ball, op. cit., p. 33
16. Ibid, p. 32
17. See further, Michael Young, “Reactors for Pacific Satellites”, *Arena* 57, 1981, p. 94 ff.
18. *Pacific Trade Union Conference*, op. cit., pp. 18-20
19. A.V. Hughes, op. cit.

V. PACIFIC CHURCHES CONFRONTING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

by the Pacific Conference of Churches

1. Some important elements in the Pacific churches' involvement in regional political and economic issues through the 1970's and up to the Fourth PCC Assembly (Tonga, 3-15 May 1981) :
 - a) There has been a significant increase of awareness and institutionalization. Church involvement at the regional level is clearer and more systematic. From a "spare time" coordinator and very general mandates ten years ago, the Church and Society Programme has gradually moved to a more substantial effort with a full-time coordinator and clear mandates from the PCC Assembly. A new PCC working style has now been called for, which should result in more coordination and more issue-orientation for all programmes. There is a call for greater stress on grassroots and national level ecumenism. There is a clear call to identify, clarify and put forward basic questions of human values and human rights.
 - b) A series of church-sponsored meetings through the 1970's brought together persons who are now well-known Pacific leaders. These meetings clearly re-inforced the movement towards political independence and creative church participation in the life of the new nations :
 - *SODEPANG* (Society for Development and Peace for Papua New Guinea), Papua New Guinea, 1970.
 - *The Catholic Church and the Development of Peoples in the South Pacific*, Suva, Fiji, 1972.
 - *SPADES* (South Pacific Action for Development Strategy), Port Vila, Vanuatu, 1973.
 - *Pacific Partnership for Development*, Tonga, 1975.
 - PCC Third Assembly, *Third Commission*, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, 1976.
 - *Consultation on the Service Ministry of the Churches*, Popondetta, Papua New Guinea, 1976.
 - *Tubiana Cooperative Workshop*, Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, 1976.
 - *Malmaluan Planning Meeting for Pacifique '77*, Malmaluan, Papua New Guinea, 1976.
 - *Pacifique '77*, Kohimarama, Solomons, 1977.
 - *Nuclear Free Pacific and Independence Movements Conferences*, Ponape, 1978.
 - *Animators Consultation*, Nakawaga Village, Fiji, 1979.

All these events were ecumenical in character, and dealt with issues of colonialism, dependency and the question of authentic human development. They all stressed the need for conscientization at every level. There have been other important events which, while more general in nature, did deal with Pacific issues (examples : *Women in Development* 1977, *Youth Convention* 1980, *Church Leaders Conference* 1980, *Pacific Women's Conference* 1981).

A PCC-initiated meeting to be held in Fiji in December, 1981, "Partnership in Mission, Aid and Development" will hope to continue building on this process.

- c) In 1976, the Roman Catholic Church, through the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Pacific, became a full member of the PCC. We rejoice and thank God for this. Direct Catholic participation has been an essential factor for us.
- d) We have seen a gradual emergence of national councils of churches. Though still relatively weak, these now form an important part of our network of relationships.
- e) A process of biblical/theological reflection is now more clearly shown. As might be expected, this is clearly more vital in the places and times of crisis (e.g., Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, New Caledonia).
- f) Perhaps the church more than any other institution in the Pacific has moved people around — for experiencing, sharing and planning. Literally thousands of persons of many categories have been brought together for workshops, seminars, conferences and consultations of all types. While the agendas and participation have not always been planned with a primary concern for Pacific issues, the net result has been towards more awareness. The Church has helped to move large numbers of young people for studies, pastors and other church workers for study and for exchanges. At any one given time, from one to five PCC staff are travelling in the region.
- g) The PCC has sought to transmit information on Pacific and other issues within and outside of the region. While sometimes criticized for sending out too much paper, we continue to gather, share and pass on what we feel will be helpful.
- h) There is a growing sense of connectedness between Pacific economic and political issues and the churches' biblical/theological base.
- i) Some shortcomings : an involvement which perhaps is too broad, not focused sharply enough; a tendency to pick out specific issues (e.g., nuclear issues, migration, tourism) without fitting them into the larger picture; lack of co-ordination within our own house; a confusion about our own unique role which has led to difficulty in relating to non-church groups; lack of crisis-sense : with a few exceptions, the Pacific churches have not experienced crisis as have the churches in Asia, and at the community level it is generally not easy to convey the seriousness of the concerns.

2. Some important lessons to be drawn :

- a) The churches clearly have a role, and it is a unique role. Especially Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and now New Caledonia have taught us that.

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MILI ATOLL

KAPINGAMARANGI ATOLL

NUKURO ATOLL

EBON ATOLL

EQUATOR

Nauru

GILBERT ISLANDS

Papua New Guinea

ADMIRALTY IS

ST MATTHIAS GROUP

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ONTONG JAVA ATOLL

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SIKIAHA IS

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MALAITA

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DUFF IS

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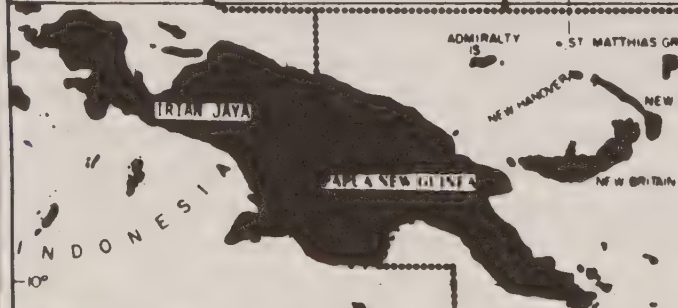
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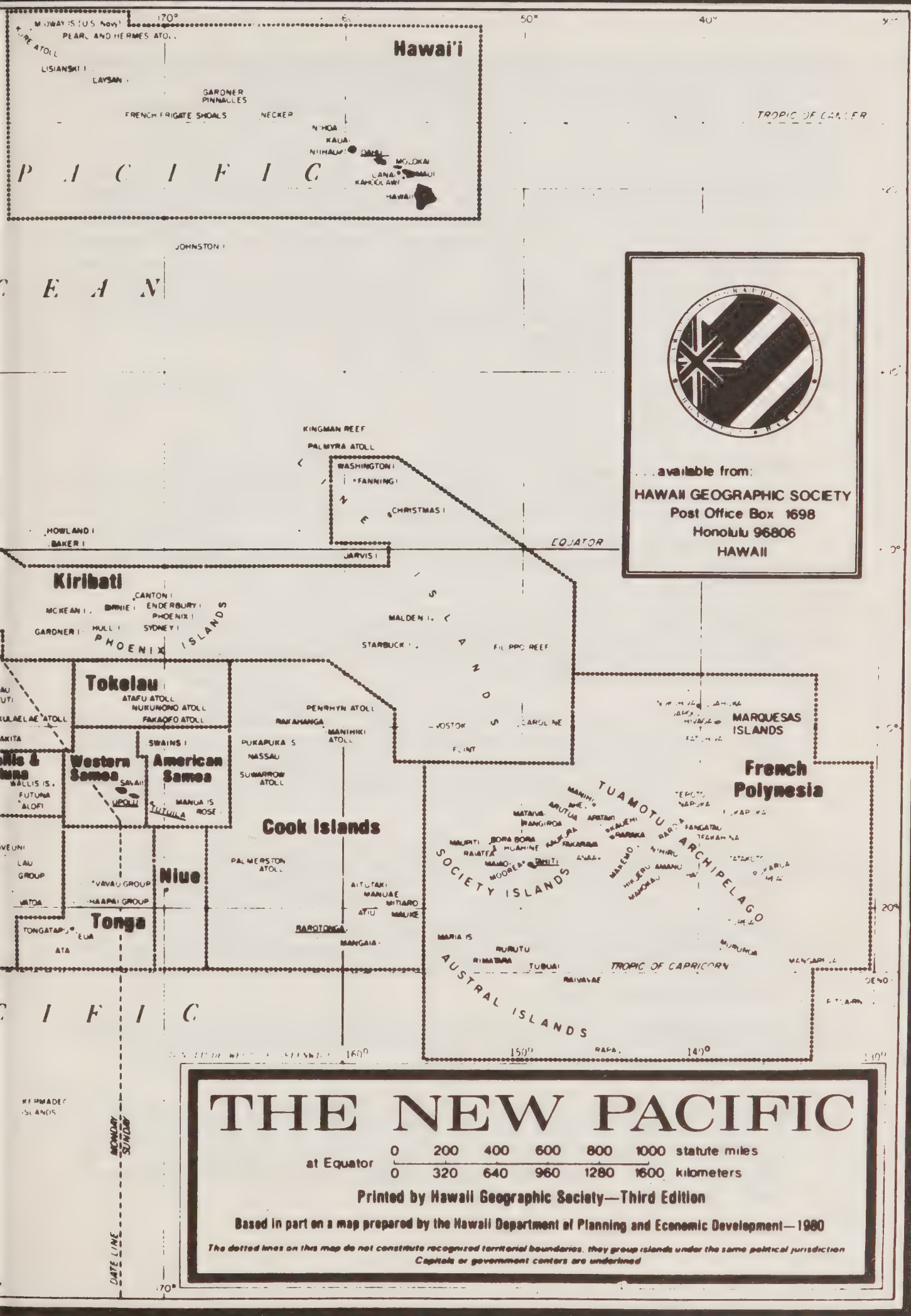
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Based in part on a map prepared by the Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development—1980

*The dotted lines on this map do not constitute recognized territorial boundaries, they group islands under the same political jurisdiction
 Capitals or government centers are underlined*

- b) The Pacific churches have shown that they *will* respond to issues when there is a clear connection with their biblical theological base and their Pacific values. We have experienced the feeling of conviction and strength when we can move as a whole people.
- c) Everywhere in the world, traditional human communities are disappearing. While not presuming to exalt our own cultures above others, and knowing that we ourselves have serious shortcomings, we feel that traditional Pacific spirituality and sense of wholeness, Pacific communal values and the concern for people above economic goals are a distinct Pacific contribution to be shared. These values are already in grave danger. The Western technological/economic process has brought its materialism, individualism and fragmenting secularization with great force. One of the most important tasks for the Pacific, therefore, is to better understand and hold fast to its own "Pacific soul".
- d) Part of our potential role as churches lies in the richness of our relationships, within and outside of the region.
- e) Church/State relationships in the Pacific are probably unique. While the Church must be especially careful to maintain its prophetic, questioning role, it should also recognize and give thanks for the unusual acceptance of a church role on the part of most island governments. This acceptance is due in part to the fact that respected church leaders have been in the "front lines" of the struggle for self-determination.
- f) The role of the institutional church in the Pacific is changing. Direct church influence is probably declining. However, this will not necessarily reduce the churches' essential contribution.
- g) The Pacific micro-states are extremely limited in their economic and political options. They must therefore be highly selective and clear about priorities. Perhaps roles will be played out more effectively with ideas, initiatives, and whatever psychological/moral influence can be mobilized through enduring relationships.
- h) Aside from the possibility of a nuclear conflict, the most likely forces shaping the options of Pacific people will seem outwardly mild. Most of the Pacific micro-states will be made to feel that they are quite autonomous. The forces will be largely economic and social in nature, but the impact will be great, even catastrophic for some countries in relation to identity and values. While there will be an appearance of pull towards bilateral arrangements, the primary forces are in fact transnational in nature.
- i) The United Nations might be of considerable leverage and support on some questions, and quite irrelevant for others.
- j) Concerning PCC role : The Pacific churches clearly want the PCC involved, but they do not want a big office. The PCC role is selective, long-term and basically prophetic. We are not particularly well-equipped to deal with high-visibility short term demands. We must therefore project strategies and not allow distractions to break the coherence of our programme.

k) We cannot escape the reality that in some highly frustrating ways the institutional church in the Pacific is also an obstacle. Preoccupation with concerns about church properties, selfish and rigid ways of doing things and some leaders more concerned with maintaining their advantageous positions than with redemptive ministry have led to what the delegates in the Fourth PCC Assembly called a condition of “spiritual stagnation” (Working Group XII). So in a very real sense our capacity for dealing with the critical issues of our region will depend upon our own renewal.

3. Some key areas of Church involvement in the light of the Fourth Assembly :

a) Further biblical/theological reflection in relation to positive Pacific values and socio/economic and political realities, with a maximum of peoples’ participation.

b) Continuing identification and follow up of human rights questions. A present list of concerns would include :

- Political independence for New Caledonia.
- Obstacles to true autonomy for the Micronesian states.
- The abuse of indigenous peoples within the Pacific and around the Pacific Rim.
- Human rights violations in East Timor and Irian Jaya.
- The general militarization of the Pacific and its particular forms: testing of nuclear weapons and weapons delivery systems, passage of nuclear warships and submarines, further establishment of military bases and communications facilities, further consolidation of military relationships in order to perpetuate unjust economic patterns.
- The disposal of radioactive wastes in the ocean and on islands (note the *Pacific Basin Spent Fuel Logistics Study*).

c) Selectively gathering and analyzing data according to plans and strategies.

d) Sustained efforts in the Pacific island countries to raise awareness on key issues.

e) Encouragement for authentic forms of Pacific regionalism; opposition to arrangements which undercut Pacific solidarity (note especially the dangers of US/Australian/NZ participation).

f) Raising questions on matters of “economic assistance” and its implications. We are probably at the beginning of an era of unprecedented aid for the Pacific micro-states.

g) Encouraging the development of a more effective communications process among the Pacific nations. Note the important question of media influence and control.

h) Nurture of positive relationships between the Pacific and other Third World areas.

i) Nurture of ecumenical relationships.

- j) Work for more awareness about Pacific issues in the Pacific Rim countries, particularly through the churches.
 - k) Leadership formation at all levels, particularly for economic and social analysis.
 - l) Participation of women : We will not attain our full capacity for insight, for struggle and as custodians of our treasured values until we have the full participation of women at all levels of our community life.
 - m) Involvement with youth : The youth are the living link between the past and the future. If we are serious about taking hold of the future, we must have a more systematic involvement with Pacific youth.
4. Some comments and suggestions concerning roles for ecumenical partners :
- a) The really important challenges involve transnational forces and interests. It is precisely the transnational character of the church which gives us the potential for supporting each other.
 - b) Too little is known about the Pacific island people. We want the worldwide ecumenical fellowship to understand us, and we need their prayers. We will try to learn more about them, and we promise to keep them in our prayers.
 - c) We are very much helped by a continuing flow of accurate, brief, selective information.
 - d) We need cooperation and understanding as we try to focus our energies. Looking at the kinds of "pull" which we experience from our ecumenical partners, we sometimes ask, "Is it really coherent ? Does it help us sharpen our efforts, or does it tend to move us towards an impossible broadness ?"
 - e) We need advocacy at points and along lines suggested by Pacific groups, particularly in places like USA, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, France, and at the United Nations.
 - f) We need financial help for some of our heavy items. Example : travel costs for bringing selected people together for consultations. Our meetings are very important to us, but due to the vast distances are very expensive.
 - g) We need assistance in leadership formation at all levels, particularly for economic and social analysis. We appreciate that our Christian colleagues who have worked in crisis situations may have acquired concepts and skills which might be helpful to us.

VI. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

by Utula U. Samana

(abridged from the original)

1. Preamble

Papua New Guinea (PNG) is an independent island country, situated in the Western Pacific. It shares borders with Indonesia (in the North-West) and Australia (in the South). PNG's Eastern sea frontiers are surrounded by the island countries of the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and the Republic of Nauru.

It is believed by certain writers that the peoples of the Pacific have been in existence for almost 50,000 years. ¹ Interactions between the people of the island of New Guinea and Indonesia date back as far as the 13th and 14th Centuries AD, before European intrusion.

PNG's population is 2.8 million, growing at the rate of 3.0% per annum. Such a rate of growth is alarming, even for PNG, and obviously has political and social implications for the country as a whole. According to the national government population projection, PNG will have 3.8 million people by 1986. ² Total urban population accounts for 393,100 persons. This indicates that 90% of the population are rural dwellers.

2. Characteristics of PNG Societies

- a) **Village and social organization** : PNG's residential patterns are characterized by villages in the case of most coastal dwellings, and hamlets or homesteads in the highlands.

The largest socio-political unit of organization has traditionally been the tribe, which in some cases consisted of several thousand, but not exceeding tens of thousands.

The next socio-political unit is the clan, which often recognizes certain territorial boundaries. Whilst a tribe seeks its identity through a particular mythical figure defining its origin, members of a clan are a "descent group" who identify themselves with a single common ancestry, associated closely with a divinity or a totem in the form of an animal, fish or bird.

Each clan has its own stories of origin, especially relating to its particular *migratory* experience and how it came to occupy a particular geographic area which is possessed by its present generation. These are significant, for they legitimize the rights of a land-owning clan over a particular geographic area.

PNG is characterized by an aggregation of several hundred cultural groups, and its linguistic diversity is exemplified by 700 distinct languages and thousands of dialects. Apart from the socio-political structures are people's own traditional ways of life, the *customs* and *values* that governed patterns of human relations and social obligations — relating an individual to other members of his clan, immediate blood ties (or lineages), and all that is known as “*kinship*”.

A village or a hamlet is a basic unit of production and sustenance on a day to day basis. Labour is controlled by a household or group of households whose members are closely related. Depending on the size of the activities, several households or members of the extended family (paternally or maternally related) co-operate in cultivation, hunting or gathering. At times, even a clan or a tribe is called upon to consolidate forces, especially for defence purposes or ceremonial exchanges.

- b) **Leadership, ownership and decision-making patterns** : Leadership, generally speaking, was not hereditary. It was acquired through the demonstration of skill and manipulation, accumulation and distribution of wealth, prowess in warfare, and benevolence.

Decision-making was done through the process of “reaching” consensus — where a “leader” (or a “bigman”) becomes the Chief Conciliator, Arbitrator, and one who demonstrates the art of bringing together the opposing factions into a consensus of opinion, generally for the good of the group and for the purposes of reestablishing social harmony.

Another peculiar characteristic of PNG “bigmanship” relates not only to the ability to accumulate wealth, but most important, to the ability to distribute wealth through ceremonial feasts and exchanges. The “distributional” aspect of traditional “bigmanship” is one in which everyone, regardless of social status, enjoys the benefits.

The process of *reciprocity* is another important element of human relations in PNG, which tend to unite people through giving and sharing. The giver knows fully well that when he is in need, he will be assisted by his kinsmen. The “receiver” feels obligated by his neighbour's service, and so the process continues. This process is known as “*reciprocity*”. Even among enemies, certain men establish long-lasting friendship through exchanges of goods and services.

There is yet another significant traditional element of PNG society, which relates to how PNG traditional societies viewed land, owned for the purpose of cultivation. Land is a very important resource.

Land is not an economic item in the abstract, as seen and defined by Western economic and legal systems. Land to a Pacific islander has an emotional attachment. It is the home of the ancestors, it serves a *social* and *psychological* function.

Without land, you are homeless. Without land, you have no social organization, no identity. Land provides social security in old age. R.G. Crocombe, one of the leading experts in Pacific land problems writes, "Emotional feelings become political realities, and feelings are among the most important factors of land matters in the Pacific today." 3

Thus, land is "*sacred*" and not an economic item which can be bought and sold. With this view of land in mind, we can imagine the *political* and *social* repercussions caused by the advent of colonial administration, which introduced a foreign legal and economic system, bringing about the alienation of traditionally owned land. Foreign companies, including foreign missionaries, introduced a legal system to acquire land through "indefeasible" titles (i.e. not capable of being annulled). In traditional PNG, land is not owned individually. It is community property, and individuals inherit rights to cultivation through their *clan*. Clan leaders or elders preside and allocate allotments to members to cultivate. There is no concept of individual ownership of land, nor is there a concept of *buying* and *selling* land.

- c) **Political history** : Alien political "systems" such as the *Legislative Council*, introduced in 1961/62 and seen as an elementary level of parliamentary democracy, styled along a poor blend of British-Westminster and Australian attempts at colonial administration, with its overcentralized and monolithic administrative structure, manned by "Kiaps" (or in many instances autocratic officials) were all outside the experience of human organization and human relations of PNG societies.

The impositions of foreign instruments of government and administration, together with other colonizing forces of missionization, trade and business, were received with mixed-feelings — not to mention some painful socio-political consequences of human disruption, and domination.

The forces of colonization, extended over a period of 80-90 years, and their subsequent impact on all facets of socio-economic and political life of people, have brought about a new awareness — an awareness of a people, not merely of a particular clan or a village, but of a nation, with some sense of dignity and aspirations to govern itself in a modern setting.

It is felt among certain of our political leaders that PNG cannot develop meaningfully by totally abandoning the values and basic assumptions that have governed a network of human relations for generations. The National Constitution of PNG enshrines some of these principles :

- *Equality* — based on Melanesian egalitarianism
- *Decentralized* means of political decision-making
- *Self-reliance*
- *Human Development* — based on human values.

These are but ideals, put into statements of intended constitutional goals. Looking beyond these ideals, one finds a set of countervailing factors of socio-cultural and political nature, caused by evils of colonialism and certain cultural tendencies and attitudes, which are an impediment to finding new solutions to new problems.

The manner in which a nation such as ours derives her philosophic direction from her past, charts out her practical strategy of development and strives to meet her future goals depends primarily on the commitment and qualities of her political leadership.

3. Process of decolonization : strategy and goals

PNG declared her independence on 16 September 1975, after a century of colonial tutelage. By world standard, PNG appears to have had a “smooth transition” towards independence. The former colonial masters “peacefully” (willingly or unwillingly) handed political power to the leaders of the indigenous people.

The late 1960's and early 1970's (1967-1972), were a period of hot political upsurge, in which a vigorous and dynamic national resistance and overt protests against colonial rule were emerging.

The Mataungan Movement of the Tolai people in East New Britain Province was one of the most powerful anti-colonial forces in PNG's political history. It shook the colonial regime to the extent of responding with the use of police riot squads and tear gas “to maintain law and order”. Even the Australian-trained PNG Army was put on alert.

Another such movement, the Napidakoe Navitu Association of South Bougainville, which was also organized along traditional-ethnic lines, objected to the intrusion of multinational mining companies, backed by the military and police, which brought about a constant threat to village people in terms of social disruption and the loss of traditional hunting grounds and gardening land. Again, the colonial administration in 1967-1969 used police, tear gas, and batons to round up not only men, but crying mothers who stood with sticks to defend their mother-land from the threatening forces of change.

These are but some examples of overt expressions of anti-colonial sentiment, a contributing factor in the process of decolonization. While these pockets of micro-nationalistic movements were emerging, a new political force was being founded in the form of a nationalist political party, the Papua Niugini Union (PANGU), to spearhead the aspirations of the people into an organized political strategy aimed at achieving home-rule. The emergence of PANGU (now the major opposition party) was timely, creating a core of political leadership to win popular support for its struggle with the colonial administration.

Pressured by the United Nations, the Australian government felt compelled to meet the terms of the Trusteeship Council, and conceded political power to the emerging political leaders, led by Mr. Michael Somare.

4. Economic and political status at independence

The “peaceful” transfer of power from Canberra to PNG was linked with a subtle form of neocolonial control.

On attaining independence, PNG inherited a highly centralized bureaucracy, modelled along the Commonwealth Civil Service of Australia, built purposely for the colonial administration and totally unsuited for PNG's development.

How could a centralized bureaucracy (with 50,000 Civil Servants on Independence Day and a tradition of receiving orders and policies from superiors) suddenly become innovative and responsive to the social and economic needs of a population of 2.5 million, 80-90% of whom are villagers living in isolated rural areas, totally cut off from urban centres? The entire government machinery was detached socially and politically from the masses of people in rural areas.

Colonial economic policy, following the 1964 World Bank Report, concentrated efforts of economic development in areas that would bring the greatest economic return. Such a strategy resulted in a regional imbalance of development and expatriate domination of the economy. By 1961-1962, the expatriate population dominated 70% of the PNG economy. The indigenous population was never effectively mobilized to develop their economic potential.

Furthermore, the growth of cash crops and export products distorted development according to foreign needs and opened the PNG market for foreign industrial goods.

By independence, therefore, PNG was heavily subsidized by a massive input of Australian grant-in aid, which was and is a sign of dependence. For the last 2-3 years, Australian aid accounted for 40% of the total PNG budget, most of it being swallowed up by salaries and retirement benefits for Australian expatriots in the PNG Civil Service.

5. The transition economy

The decade preceding independence was a period of rapid political and economic transition. Through United Nations Missions visiting PNG, Australia was pressed for a rapid decolonization process. The "Foot Mission" of 1962 for example called for the establishment of a credit scheme to help the PNG population to develop their economy and increase their participation. It urged that high level institutions be established to skilled manpower and technocrats.

In 1964, the PNG Development Bank was established. Two years later the PNG University was erected, followed by an Institute of Higher Technical Education (later renamed the PNG University of Technology).

Outlining the overall economic growth from the period 1960-1968, the writers of the *Lae Urban Development Study* 4 indicate that the GNP was growing at the rate of 6.6% per annum. In money terms, according to this study, the growth rose from US\$ 277.5 million in 1960/61 to US\$ 434.1 million in 1967/68. That is, the GNP doubled within seven years. Private investments soared from US\$ 13.4 million in 1963/64 to US\$ 51.4 million in 1968/69. In other words, investments quadrupled in six years.

This trend continued in the 1970's, albeit with a significant decline in investments. The Official Government Report, *STRATEGIES FOR NATIONHOOD 1974*, confirms that the country's GDP increased by 27.60% between the years 1972/73 and 1973/74. It showed in money terms, a rise from US\$ 786.2 million (1972/73) to US\$ 1,003.8 million (1973/74). Investments declined by US\$ 21.0 million from US\$ 127.7 million in 1972/73 to US\$ 106.0 million in 1973/74.

What did this growth mean in terms of real benefits to the people?

First of all, this economic growth did not include all regions of the country equally, nor did it involve all sectors of the community. Nevertheless, its impact was nationwide.

Practically all of this growth was concentrated at the monetary or urban sector. It was also related to an increasing growth of public expenditure, and to a lesser degree to the involvement and growth of the private sector. Another significant contributing factor was Australian aid, together with the operational extension of the Commonwealth Departments in PNG.

By 1970, the public sector constituted 40% of total public expenditures, having risen 4½ times that of 1960. Similarly, expenditures of Commonwealth Departments and instrumentalities rose. The money value of transferred Australian assets and PNG Defence appropriations rose from K 324.23 million to K 370.59 million between 1974/75 and 1975/76.

6. Economic underdevelopment

Was there a real “growth” in the economy? In terms of balance of trade, in the period 1960/61 and 1966/67, merchandise *export* was growing at the lower rate of 8.9% per annum compared with the annual growth of *imports* at 16.2% — *twice higher*! Consequently, the country was increasing its deficit from US\$ 19 million to US\$ 69 million during the same period. This widening trade deficit was offset by the input of Australian “aid”. But as Taylor points out, aid had a negative impact on the overall economy: “It should be appreciated that the trade deficit has been largely caused by these (aid) flows.”

How does this happen? Since a developing country lacks sufficient financial resources, skills and technology, it either imports them through loans or in the form of “aid”, which falsely exaggerates “growth” beyond domestic purchasing power. This trend jeopardizes a developing country’s *real* economic growth by decreasing its purchasing power to an extent where a country becomes continuously dependent on foreign aid and foreign capital.

Foreign investors, including the import of foreign experts, only help to syphon profits and most aid money back to the homeland of the aid-giver and parent companies. Not only does this imposed dependency system create a net out-flow of goods and profits, even more seriously it jeopardizes real economic development, particularly in the agricultural sector. This process has been dubbed by a well-known Latin American economist, Andre Gunder Frank, as “the development of underdevelopment”.

In PNG, despite the industrial growth and the record scores of Bougainville Copper, the agricultural sector has been declining. In fact, investments in Bougainville Copper directly affected the imbalance and widened the gap between industrial and agricultural development. Food imports rose from US\$ 12.8 million in 1960 to US\$ 45.4 million in 1972.

In 1973, the PNG government embarked upon a very ambitious fresh fruit and vegetable market programme along the concept of import substitution. ⁵ In 1974, the Fresh Food Marketing operation was established, targeted to reduce the imports of fruit and vegetables by K 1.5 million. The operation made a loss amounting to K 1.3 million. ⁶ By 1981, Prime Minister Julius Chan ordered the closure of the Food Marketing Corporation.

A government white paper ⁵ showed explicitly that the “flow of foreign aid” to PNG is comparatively higher than that of other developing countries. By 1976, foreign aid constituted K 75.- per capita. By 1979, Australian aid constituted 40% of PNG’s total budget.

7. Participation and employment

By 1966/67, only 30% of the total commercial activities were controlled exclusively by PNG nationals. This trend continued in the 1970’s. ⁷ Practically all the manufacturing industries were controlled by foreigners. In his study of the economic growth of PNG from the period 1945 to 1970, economist John Langmore concluded that by 1962/63, 70% of the economy was foreign-controlled. ⁸ Foreign dominance of the economy was due mainly to the manipulation and inculcation of foreign values and foreign economic and political systems. During the post-independence era, wage structures and salary differences continued as in colonial days.

This growth pattern also tended to encourage rural-urban migration, swelling the urban population at the rapid rate of 8.3% per annum, ⁹ compared with a total national growth rate of 2.5%. In 1966, about 5% of PNG’s 2.4 million people were considered urban-dwellers. This percentage increased to 10% by 1971. ¹⁰ Significantly, a majority of these people are young men and women, with a consequent increase of children in the urban areas. This tremendous growth of non-working-age dependents raises important social and political problems. It imposes upon government and public institutions demands to provide essential services such as housing, education, health, etc. Since evidently not all who come to town can be employed, the needs of urban populations are now very much beyond the capacities of public institutions. Hence, increasing unemployment, crime, and the need for appropriate housing are now becoming major social problems of political potency. Rural areas, where most of the country’s population live, are continuously deprived of the most able-bodied and talented workers.

The other aspect of the problem that concerns policy-makers relates to how one provides enough jobs for a growing population, especially those who come out of the school system. In 1966, out of a total workforce of 1.2 million, only 233,642 people were able to find employment. Most of these people were employed in the public sector. In Lae and Port Moresby for instance, between one third and one half of all employed were working in government bureaucracies.

R. Garnaut’s analysis, based on materials gathered from the *Urban Household Survey*, expressed concern that job opportunities would become minimal and unemployment would rise. Primary school leavers were already in excess supply by 1968. The study postulates that “unemployment among educated people will rise strongly. It would be surprising if the excess supply of people with primary and later secondary and some tertiary education did not continue to increase until the proportion of unemployment among these groups in urban areas exceed the proportions revealed for 1973/74 among people with little or no formal education.” ¹¹

By 1975, the year of independence, the growth of the public sector began to slow down. Garnaut reports that “the total urban demand for labour seems to have stagnated since 1973/74. While there has probably been some light (and, by past levels, very slow) growth in total wage employment, there has probably been zero or negative growth in demand for labour with little or no formal educational experience.” ¹²

This was a period in which the government began to exercise very hard financial stringencies (cutting down of "unnecessary" expenditures). It was a period of great uncertainty, when Australia began to review its long-term aid commitment to PNG. It showed vividly PNG's vulnerability due to its high dependency on Australian aid.

The present trend of development has grave limitations. If PNG continues along the *same* path in the next 10 or 20 years, she will continue to foster the same disparities between urban and rural development, growing unemployment and inequalities in income distribution which are evident in many developing countries.

If education cannot be planned in isolation to overall development goals (as is assumed by the *National Education Plan* of 1976-1980) then our first serious question is : *Which way are we going* in terms of development orientation ? The years ahead show no prospect for primary and secondary school leavers, not to mention those without formal education, whose social condition has been described as the urban "dispossessed".

Assessing the future prospects for employment opportunities, the economist Robert Castley concludes that the future is "rather bleak", ¹³ and prospects in the private sector "gloomy", ¹⁴ the manufacturing sector accounting for only 9% of the workforce. PNG's employment growth rate is very slow, most likely 1.5% per annum, as compared even to Africa's 2% per annum.

If population growth, one of the world's highest, is averaged at 3% per annum, then the overall economic growth rate ought to keep pace accordingly. Present calculations show that the labour force is growing at the rate of 36,000 per annum, between the years 1971 and 1986. ¹⁵ That is, by 1986 there will be about ½ million total workforce in PNG. Projections of employment availability, on the other hand, show that by 1985/86 there will be only 249,514 jobs in existence.

As for the number of output from the existing school system per job opportunity, the situation is "alarming", according to Castley. There will be about 30,000 "form fours" considered unemployed by 1984. There will be a total of 60,000 school leavers, of which only 12,000 would be employed by 1985. In 1976, out of a total of 30,000 grade 6 and 8 leavers, only one third were employed. By 1980, of a total of 36,000, only one fifth were employed. By 1984, of 48,500 pupils, the number of those finding employment will have shrunk to one sixth. Similarly pessimistic projections have been made for higher grades. ¹⁶

8. PNG's role in Asia

Geographically, PNG can be seen to be the Pacific's link to Asia. Trade and commerce could flow to and from PNG as a regional base. These links could be important for trade and industries, for both the Pacific and Asia.

Thus PNG's membership or participation in ASEAN would be logical to attain the objective of promoting healthy trade links. Already there are some bilateral trade relations with Singapore and other South East Asian countries, and even more so with Japan. There are already government-to-government talks on possible technical co-operation between ASEAN members individually and collectively. A number of PNG students and government representatives have studied in professional institutions and universities in various South East Asian countries.

However, the question of PNG's role in Asia raises a number of important questions. The primary one which should be posed, especially in the context of this conference, regards the *nature* of the role that PNG should pursue. In evaluating relationships, would assume that we are interested in PNG's role or involvement in solving or alleviating socio-political and economic problems affecting human lives in the Pacific-Asia region.

Secondly, for any country to play whatever role in a situation, it must or should have some conception or understanding of these issues — as it relates first to her own needs, and then to others. Self-consciousness, or *self-awareness*, should precede one's relations with others. What are PNG's internal goals and strategy of development? How effective is her internal management of socio-economic problems? How does she perceive her needs relating to a bigger, collective entity, e.g. the Pacific or the Asian regions? How does PNG see her aspirations met through regional links or through regional co-operation?

The third question is related to regional identity and regional goals. What are the regional goals and how can they be attained? The South East Asian and the Pacific countries are developing countries. We assume, therefore, that we all have common problems. Can we practically relate to one another as a people, and collectively realize our common aspirations of development?

We aspire for independence, and the development of our resources for the fulfilment of our needs. We see the need for security and protection. We believe that the sharing of national wealth among citizens, the sharing of resources internationally among nations, and the conduct of trade and commerce on equal terms are the best basis of developing a human society. This is diametrically opposed to greed, or colonial and neocolonial domination, with its overtones of racism and barbaric militarism.

Our aspirations for regional cooperation are hampered in practice by numerous factors, among which the following can be identified:

- a) neocolonial (or dependent) status of many newly independent states in both South East Asia and the Pacific — affecting trade relations;
- b) lack of financial and technical capacity to make regional cooperation meaningful and practical;
- c) regional control by superpowers, economically and military; and
- d) lack of political will by leaders in the Pacific-Asia region to pursue an independent foreign policy.

Although PNG is in a better position both in location and in size (population, land mass, resources), she has not been able to play an effective role on issues such as decolonization, racism, or the creation of an independent economic policy. She has not effectively pursued a different model of development, one suited to the needs of developing economies, despite her political statement about rural development and self-reliance.

PNG therefore needs a different political leadership, with an ideological commitment to Third World issues and the problems of developing countries. I believe that the PNG leadership will change over time. There is every possibility of a change for the better.

Notes :

1. R.G. Crocombe, *The New South Pacific*, ANU, 1973, p. 3
2. *The Effects of Population on Development*, a Handbook for Extension Workers, PNG, 1978, p. 7
3. R.G. Crocombe, *op. cit.*, p. 11
4. Russell D. Taylor, et al., *Lae Urban Development Study*, Town Planning Consultants, 1970, p. 21
5. *National Development Strategy*, NPO, October 1976
6. Cf. *Post Courier*, 29 July 1976
7. R. Garnaut, et al., *Employment, Incomes and Migration in PNG Towns*, Monograph 6, IASER, 1977, p. 3
8. J.V. Langmore, "A Critical Assessment of Australian Economic Policy for PNG Between 1945 and 1970", mimeograph, UPNG, August 1972
9. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 31
10. Garnaut, *op. cit.*, p. 3
11. *Ibid.*, p. 186
12. *Ibid.*, p. 187
13. R. Castley, "Manpower Trends", *Manpower Planning Unit*, NPO, p. 10
14. R. Castley, "Unemployment in PNG : A Review", *Manpower Planning Unit*, NPO, p. 26
15. R. Castley, "Manpower Trends No. 2 : Revised Edition", *Manpower Planning Unit*, NPO, p. 25
16. *Ibid.*, p. 41

VII. THE ROLE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA IN THE PACIFIC

by John L. Momis

Before looking at the place of Papua New Guinea (PNG) in the Pacific, we need to look briefly at the overall picture of trends in the Pacific, and then situate PNG within that pattern.

The countries of the Pacific fall into the category known as “underdeveloped”. That concept carries with it European connotations of development. It suggests that *all* countries must work towards rapid economic growth, high levels of consumption of processed and manufactured goods, industrialization, etc.

There is very little questioning of that thinking in the Pacific. We accept the assumptions of our former colonial masters, the Europeans. We accept the sort of plans and patterns of change that they have formed for us. We have political independence, but no economic independence, or independence of thought. We are not developing our own patterns of development, based on existing social forms.

There are still many assumptions being made about so-called “underdeveloped” countries. Whilst there are some apparent changes in the thinking of the leaders of developed nations, there is still a tendency to think that “development” occurs along a straight line. They think that we “underdeveloped” countries could catch up, move up the line of “development”, be like the rich countries, if we lowered population growth, overcome laziness, “primitive” religious beliefs, etc.

That line of thinking is *beginning* to change. There is more acceptance that the situation of many (if not all) “underdeveloped” countries has arisen largely because of the historical relationship established when our countries came under the control and influence of the major Western powers.

To put it bluntly, these powers grew more and more wealthy at the direct expense of the countries they controlled in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. This is true whether they controlled our countries as colonies, or under some other form of relationship.

This situation has not much changed since the achievement of independence by most former colonies. Present-day structures, trade relationships and institutions such as our past colonial ties, the IMF, the World Bank, aid and trade agreements, communication systems, and so on. All these serve to perpetuate the predominance of some and the subordination of others.

My analysis here is admittedly elementary, and does not do justice to the complexity of the picture. But there is a mass of literature now available which gives full analyses of various aspects of the situation.

In the Pacific there is also a hierarchy of dependency and power. The USA is dominant, with increasing influence exerted by Japan and Australia, which in some respects have similar economic interests in the area. France retains a waning involvement as a direct colonial power, but for clear economic reasons is not yet willing to relinquish its hold.

The economic dependence of our nations is shown in many ways. We are closely tied into the Western camp. Many of us supported the US-based boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games. Fiji plans to support the US by sending troops to the Sinai. The Pacific Forum bowed to Australian manipulation to water down proposals on a Nuclear Free Pacific. Trade, aid, culture, business investment, education, defence — all are dominated and manipulated by outside nations.

Tiny Vanuatu is the only area of promise. So far it is taking an independent stand on many matters. How long will it be before pressures are applied to them?

Papua New Guinea's place in the Pacific seems to be largely aimed at increasing the pace of these developments. The past 10 years have been years of major political changes, which have seen Self Rule (1972), Independence (1975), and decentralized Provincial Governments endeavouring to return power and decision-making to the people.

Those same ten years have seen "economic development" largely accelerating the economic developments of the colonial era. The PNG economy has been more and more inserted into and linked with the world capitalist system. We have adopted a more and more dependent role. We are largely a supplier of natural resources to the rich nations. Most of our monetary sector production consists of cash crops such as coffee, cocoa and copra, directed towards satisfying the needs of foreign markets. Large-scale exploitation of natural resources of fish, timber, gold and copper is equally directed to satisfy foreign needs. This is nothing more than a continuation and repetition of the classical pattern laid down by our colonial experience.

We are becoming increasingly dependent upon imports of high-priced food stuffs and consumer goods, all of which come from the major rich nations. At the village level, as the change to cash crops and small-scale business develop, we see the destruction or semi-destruction of the subsistence mode of production.

Capitalist values and relationships are becoming predominant. Individualism, materialism and opportunism emerge at the expense of traditional communal values, traditional patterns of trade, activity and mutual support. Some physical subsistence production continues, but the associated religious and social fabric of traditional society has largely been shattered, to be replaced by foreign values and relationships.

Our economy is overwhelmingly in foreign hands. One financial analyst estimates that eighty percent of the gross monetary sector production is generated by foreign interests. The small number of national capitalists are dependent on their foreign counterparts. Only artificial support (loans, grants, subsidies) ensure their survival, but in a dependent role, ensuring that they promote and support the activities and interests of foreign economic interests.

Our role in the Pacific is largely limited to calls for political independence of the French colonies. The only really valuable action taken by PNG in the area was the support to Vanuatu last year. That was solely aimed at ridding Vanuatu of foreign influence. If only there were the same drive to rid the *whole* Pacific of all-pervasive foreign economic influences, or at least control them, so that they work in *our* interests ! But unfortunately, the PNG elite — politicians, top bureaucrats and national capitalists — are all too busy helping foreign interests, directly or indirectly.

I believe, with all my heart and soul, that these developments which I have described are directed against the real interests of our people. Yet we find almost no one prepared to stand against the trends.

The only beneficial structural change which has been brought about anywhere in the world in the last 50 years, has been led by people's movements. People-led movements have always preceded legislative or parliamentary moves for change. The development of people's movements seems to me to be the only hope for change in the Pacific.

If such movements are to have a real impact on fundamental human problems, the churches must be involved. The message of the Gospel is one of liberation. Yet the situation in the Pacific which I have described is one of oppression, of deliberate underdevelopment. People at all levels give in to the immense pressures applied by the trends we face, because they have no vision of anything better. The Gospel offers that vision. The church must constantly help people to see the contradiction between trends in the world and the human vision offered by the Gospel.

The churches must be involved in conscientization programmes, to raise our awareness, to inculcate a vision. Without a vision to follow, people cannot lift themselves beyond the efforts and needs of daily living. An athlete can apply immense efforts for long periods because he has a vision of what he is working towards. We need such a vision.

In order to develop a realistic vision of a different Pacific, the churches must be totally identified with the people in a struggle for liberation. The churches must know the mind of the people. In PNG, the mind of the people is expressed in many ways in our Constitution, which was the product of two years of consultation with our people. Yet the aims and goals set out there are being undermined and worked against in many ways by our government, by industry, etc. Our Constitution calls for equality and sharing. The people's will is clearly stated. But do the churches highlight the contradiction ? Do the churches work in accordance with the mind of the people ?

Even God joined a human movement of liberation. He became man. He chose human institutions.

This then is the challenge for the churches : to immerse themselves totally in developing movements for change.

VIII. KANAK INDEPENDENCE AND THE FUTURE OF THE WHOLE PACIFIC

by Jean-Marie Tjibaou

1. Preamble

Before dealing with the claim to independence of the Kanak people, I would like to say something about what is presently happening in New Caledonia.

Eight days ago, one of our militants was killed. His name is Pierre Declercq. He was an elected member of the Territorial Assembly — just as I am — and he was the Secretary General of the *Union Calédonienne*, the largest of the *Independence Front* parties. On a very small island such as ours, an event like this has a very great impact. It is the first political murder that we have experienced.

What was the reason for this killing? At stake was the right to Kanak independence and the reclamation of legitimacy for the indigenous people. Declercq was a French citizen, but he struggled alongside us. In opposition to the legitimacy of our struggle, which is *not* “legal”, there is the “legitimacy” of the colonial regime, which *is* legal. And it is this legalized colonial regime which gives the power to kill. The current socialist government of France has inherited this power.

The problem in New Caledonia right now is the level of violence which has been brought about by the murder of Pierre Declercq. We all know that blood calls for blood. For the first time in New Caledonia, on September 24th, there were armed security barriers during demonstrations. The government knows this, the radio announced it, and the Kanak people no longer accept being killed without answering back. We have a lot of difficulty keeping our militants within reason.

I would like to impress upon you, present at this meeting, the urgency of French government recognition of our right to independence. As long as Kanak rights are not recognized, the present legal representatives of the French government will still be authorized to defend themselves and their interests and to suppress those who defend the legitimacy of the Kanak people.

2. Why demand independence?

To demand independence is to demand dignity, sovereignty, freedom and responsibility. *Dignity*, in the context of the colonial period, means the right to be regarded as total

human beings, not just with reference to the status which towns and universities confer upon us, but within the social fabric which shapes our personality. Our visions of the world, our conceptions of humankind, our views on life are entitled to a place at the banquet of civilizations, simply as existential experiences of humanity in which we share.

The attempt by each Pacific community to find new ways demands that there be a land in which the life of the community can grow. But a people can only grow if it is based in a country which is its homeland, which embodies its history. When we speak of a people's history, we assume their presence through time, as well as some stability or permanence in space. But duration in space is linked to *sovereignty* over land. To demand sovereignty is to demand that the people be regarded historically, i.e. with a cultural reality set within a specific environment.

We are citizens of the Pacific islands. Our homeland is the Pacific, and not the metropolis, which has kept us in ghettos, making us blind to one another, while trying to focus our eyes on distant political, economic and cultural realities.

The right to independence is also a claim to *responsibility*. We should be able to choose our allies and create networks of interdependence which will guarantee the independence of our countries. We also claim responsibility in order to promote our way of life. We need to be respected in our relationship to land, to plants, to animals, to rivers, to the sea, to the stars. The ability to strengthen our ties with our ancestors as well as the living of our villages, our way of dividing and organizing space, our awareness of the value of this way of life — these too are linked to our right to determine our own future.

In claiming our independence and the right to master our own destiny, we present ourselves with a challenge : We too have a message within us, a message to share with our neighbours and our world. The demand to decide our own future is therefore not a selfish demand. It implies the responsibility to contribute to the organization of relations among our countries. It implies ensuring that the whole Pacific becomes more and more, little by little, our “new home”. It implies a mission : a Pacific mission.

What do we mean when we talk about a “Pacific Vision”, or a “Pacific Way” ? In my mind, these terms are projective. They do not concern the past. They wish to formulate a new future. In a way, they are a critique of the present, when it has left us dissatisfied and frustrated. They express the dream of the old colonized, who still live in the house of the settler after he has been chased away at the time of independence. What is important about these terms is that they express the need for change. We are looking for a style of house that will be better adapted to the environment. It is a *need* which emerges, perhaps a hope for Oceania.

But in the meantime, we are facing empty frames. Historically, this is natural. We must avoid the temptation of filling them in too quickly. We may try to fill them in with cement at all costs, while history may teach us to fill them with glass plates ! Sometimes, when we are late for an appointment, we say, “it's the Pacific way”. But this is a caricature. The “Pacific Way” includes a whole uniformity of ways of doing things, of eating, of discussing, of arriving at decisions, of celebrating, of working, of living. It is a whole universe of people living in the Pacific, despite the different languages and cultures.

3. Pacific Mynuhom

In the search for a Pacific vision of human life, a number of concepts have been created in recent times, which find much resonance among our people. One of these was launched by Bernard Narokobi of Papua New Guinea, who spoke of “*Pacific Mynuhom*” (“my new home” in Pidgin). There is no theme which reflects better the concept of a *Whole Pacific*, a *Global Pacific*. If we isolate ourselves, we will think only of our own territory, and consider the rest of the Pacific as a strange country, where nuclear dumping or experiments in the sea can take place.

We must rediscover the idea that the Pacific is a region where there is life, the life of the sea, of the fish and of the plants, where our future and even our life is at stake. The ocean itself is the territory where all of us draw our life. *Pacific Mynuhom* is the country behind the horizon which we must set off to conquer. It is the country which runs with milk and honey. It sets us in action, it gets us on the move and gives us a sense of orientation. *Pacific Mynuhom* is the arrival of the beloved, for whom I mobilize the whole of my house for a welcome. I give thanks to our ancestors for having given us such a blessing.

All countries of the Third World have since their independence used their energies trying to manage a patrimony which is no longer in operation. They have inherited structures which administratively, economically, politically and culturally were created on the model of the heavily populated and industrialized metropolitan countries. The time we waste trying to crank these machines into working order will prevent us from thinking and will lead us to politics which run out of breath, to economies of tinkering and to an educational system that creates a small elite, a class of urban proletariat, and even worse a mass of impotent people and of parasites for our villages.

Pacific Mynuhom is a necessity to help us become aware of the fact that the educational system which has given us enough of a school standard to allow us to speak here today in a foreign language is the same system which forbids us to proclaim the word of wisdom that would help the people to become rooted in their soil. It is as if being born and living in an indigenous village were a blemish that humanity has to get rid of. This now perspective is primordial for the indigenous of the Pacific, because it is we who have up until today turned our backs to our island brothers for the sake of breathing the breath of metropolitan countries which take possession of our minds and souls.

Pacific Mynuhom is the cry of our ancestors who are tired of seeing us wandering in the dark. Their cry is a call to sit down at night around the same fire and perhaps for the first time to face and discover one another. We can only find within ourselves, at the level of our respective inheritance, the elements that are necessary for the grand building yard which is *Pacific Mynuhom*.

4. Wantok

Another key concept which I feel is essential in the project of restituting the Pacific people to their own universe is “*Wantok*” (“one talk” in Pidgin). Everytime we use the word *Wantok*, we take ourselves back to our various worlds of identification. First, we are *Wantok* with the people of the same village. These are my family, those who share the same language, the same cultural background. Sometimes even in one village there are different dialects, different clans, different hierarchical and social classes. So our *Wantok* universe either contracts or expands.

But fundamentally, the *Wantok* concept refers to the people with whom we share the same protocol when eating, the same ceremonies for getting married, naming the children or adopting them, for celebrating, mourning, our relationships with our ancestors, etc. But the universe of the *Wantok* is initially the village, it spreads out to the province, the country, the state, the states within a region.

When I find myself in Port Moresby, I refer to the people of my home village in the highlands as my *Wantok*. When I find myself in New Caledonia, I say that all the people from New Caledonia are my *Wantok*. And when I find myself in New Caledonia with people from the Solomons, I say to the people of New Caledonia that the gentleman with whom I am talking Pidgin is also my *Wantok*. And when we are in England, or here in Manila, and are among New Caledonians, Tahitians, Australians, be they black or white, or Japanese, or Koreans, or Filipinos, we are all *Wantoks* in comparison to others. We all share the same ocean, the *Pacific Mynuhom*.

My message to the *Pacific Mynuhom* is that we should liberate the frameworks of identity of each *Wantok* universe. We must artistically promote them. We must take into account the fact that although they belong to different levels of *Wantok*, they also constitute the legacy of oceanian people and models of behaviour for all those who will participate in building the *Pacific Mynuhom*.

Wantok stands opposed to the nuclear ideology, which promotes ever increasing production, sales, profits. The “production race” is part of the “nuclear race”, which will eventually lead to death. We must organize the time remaining to us in order to triumph over death.

5. Decolonization

Decolonization begins when we become aware of our subconscious attitudes of dominator and dominated, exploiter and exploited, colonizer and colonized. Both settler and native are imprisoned by the institution of domination. These institutions have been created to assure the continued presence of foreign imperialism, to legalize the presence of colonists and to alienate the native people.

For us, decolonization is first of all become aware of the way in which we have become foreigners in our own country. This implies becoming aware of how the Pacific peoples themselves have resigned themselves to an enforced and internalized racism, accepting the myth of white superiority. The image of the colonist, governor, soldier, professor, missionary and even Jesus Christ was white. This feeling of alienation led to spiritual, intellectual, moral and political resignation. It must be erased from people’s minds as a first step towards decolonization.

Since colonialism is the legalized theft of country, sovereignty, natural heritage and soul of the colonized, decolonization must be the unconditional restitution of the sovereignty of the original people over their country, heritage and destiny. For the Kanak, decolonization is the response we expect from the colonial power to our independence claims. We demand the return of our lands, the return of our own nationality, which is Kanak, so that we can identify our patriotism with the country of our ancestors.

We claim sovereignty, which will give us the means to organize ourselves in our own political, administrative, economic, social, cultural and ecological ways, the means to

choose our political, economic and cultural partners and allies. We claim the responsibility for promoting our own value systems and to create developmental models which value our particular art of living. We claim the responsibility for our destiny and worldviews.

The truth about life and death is only one truth for a community of believers. These claims to dignity are rooted in the deepest aspirations of all Pacific peoples. We claim the liberation of each of our *Wantoks* not selfishly, but for the sake of the whole *Pacific Mynuhom*.

IX. APPENDICES

Report of Working Group I COMMON ISSUES LINKING ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

1. The Pacific

The newly independent Pacific micro-states have not found themselves in possession of self-determination. For them, trade, aid and economic patterns are clearly dominated by the more industrialized Australian and New Zealand centres of capital.

Militarism also grows. France goes on recklessly exploding its nuclear weapons in Polynesian territory. A nuclearized ANZUS military pact binds the privileged nations of the region in exclusive self-protection. Monstrous new weapon systems, accompanied by familiar anti-Soviet litanies, begin to baptize the whole ocean with nuclear terrorism justified as "superpower rivalry".

2. Asia and the Pacific

The patterns of Asian post-independence disenchantment, economic transnationalization and militarist terrors repeat themselves. Asia relates to the Pacific as more than fellow victims of a shabby global fraud. These new and more total patterns of domination originate in giant Asian and ASEAN combines, which are themselves exploitative partners of older Western centres of economic power.

3. The churches and the region

As the economic, ecological, and military crises afflicting both centre and periphery of the Western system has deepened, the Pacific churches have joined with the Asian to ponder and to plan. Heirs of a missionary enterprise in league with all phases of colonialism, old and new, these churches sense their complicity with the past and their responsibility to be partners, according to the Gospel, in preserving and redirecting a new Pacific and Asian home for all their richly diverse peoples.

But our parole is short.
There is little time left to pray and act.

4. The “development” model

The choice and imposition of Western capitalist economic “development” has penetrated all forms of Asian life and determined all of its institutions over the past fifteen years. Partnership between local and transnational power elites has lowered into place huge economic enterprises hungry for cheap raw materials, for cheap labour and for cheap energy, regardless of human and environmental cost.

5. Nuclear power and the nuclear cycle

Nuclear reactors are becoming integral to Asian development at the same time as they become more unacceptable in the countries of their origin. Reactors are part of a complete cycle, each part of which is located in the Pacific-Asian region. Australian aboriginal lands become uranium quarries, step one of the cycle. The final step involves waste disposal. Micronesian ocean depths north of Guam are designated by Japan to become the sewer for the world’s first full-scale officially licensed nuclear garbage disposal.

6. Nuclear weapons

The origins and dynamic of nuclear power have been and continue to be nuclear weapons. The transport, transit and storage, as well as the testing and permanent basing of nuclear weapons and delivery systems are increasingly being officially rejected by our churches. Asia and the Pacific have been the major testing grounds. The “live” tests over Hiroshima and Nagasaki destroyed one quarter of a million persons instantly and darkened the future of thousands of living or as yet unborn. There followed the Micronesian explosions. Testing continues today in Moruroa, at great hidden costs to the Tahitian people. The Pacific is stockpiled with nuclear megadeath, concentrated especially at such strategic bases as Okinawa, Hawaii, and Guam.

The communication and delivery arrangements for strategic systems of megadeath criss-cross our ocean depths and the land of our islands and of our Australian continent. The deployment of the new Trident missile system is imminent. Thousands of deadly accurate triple-Hiroshima yield warheads will soon be carried in the new monster submarines which will lurk deep in Pacific Ocean waters. Their base will be Bangor at the Western end of the US-Canadian border near Vancouver and Seattle. Belau is likely to be designated as a forward Trident base in defiance of the clear popular will for a nuclear-free Constitution. Our Pacific is assured of early first strike destruction as nuclear war grows daily nearer.

7. The logic of “development”

“Development”, dependent on foreign money and technology, leads to a severe state of domination. The dependency of the people reduces their full humanity. Their culture and their consciousness is invaded by a new imposed system of economic and political life. In this the mass media and advertising, especially television, play a major role.

“Development” requires an extreme degree of political stability. “Developing” countries must compete for foreign investment. Investors in huge projects require guarantees of long-term stability to recover their outlay with profit. The host country is expected itself to provide substantial capital along with such subsidies and incentives as

cheap energy and tax exemption on “export production”. These concessions and this capital outflow depresses the economy and oppresses the people, since above all, a plentiful supply of cheap and tame labour must be assured.

The logical end-requirement is a repressive and provocative political system which must rely on police and military to ensure the stability of an exploited labour force and population.

8. Militarism

Militarism is a capital-intensive foreign-based enterprise in its own right. It utilizes expensive hardware, requiring constant costly updating. Its high technology requires a breed of military technocrats who preside over a well-ordered class whose interests coincide, not with those of their own people, but with those of the total economic and military machine. The military are trained by foreign experts, and through repeated joint exercises they become component parts of the larger systems of the major foreign supplying powers.

With the pattern of Asia-Pacific merger, such a Pacific “defence” pact as ANZUS must be phased out in favour of a broader RIMPAC pact, embracing the principle regional superpowers of the wider area. Military first loyalties swing towards the regional partnership and the dominant superpower centres.

9. “National security”

Just as the deceptive rhetoric of “national interest” hides the reality of the primary transnational interests being served, so with “national security”. The function of a transnationalized military becomes primarily the policing of the citizens of its own state in the interest of transnational economic enterprises of which the nation state is but a subsidiary.

10. Coercive institutions

Equally repressive of true human development however are the old and new forms of coercion embedded in the more respectable institutions of state or economic power. Law becomes an instrument for protecting not the citizens’ rights, but the interests of foreign and local elites. Education systems through to their prestigious tertiary levels induct the intelligentsia into complex but uncritical forms of conventional wisdom. The powerful and seductive mass media invade the inner consciousness of whole peoples.

The Church has also been an instrument of coercion. “Development” and “militarist” policies and ideologies have not been prophetically challenged as idols or anti-Gospel. There can be active church collaboration whereby the church secures privileges for itself. The Gospel has been adapted to success ideologies or to spiritualities of passive non-involvement preoccupied with privatized individual life and psychological states of religious consciousness.

11. Surveillance

Brutal police violence and coercive propaganda institutions exist in Asia alongside techniques and technologies of surveillance which monitor the detailed life of the

people. Dissent or deviant political behaviour is noted by an army of informers and relayed to the professional people-watchers. Requests, reprimands or threats can be followed if unavailing, by more brutal policing methods.

12. A militarist political economy

Militarization as a means of social control and the intensified repression of the life of people in Asia are not accidental. They are a necessary function of that economic system and that "development" model which has befallen Asia. Independence struggles no sooner achieved the goal of overthrowing colonial masters than they were caught up in a new dependency which took the popular longings for statehood, economic growth and justice, and manipulated them to the service of a new economic colonialism.

13. Dream to nightmare

Thus did the dream of Asian liberation yield place to the grinding nightmare of contemporary Asian realities. Militarized life is destructive not only in terms of physical bloodshed, nuclear holocaust, and the poisoning of the land. It roots up also all human forms of politics as a genuine expression of community. It corrupts indigenous economics as a human organism for the sharing of the good things of the earth, for the nourishing of life, and for the treasuring of the eco-system.

14. "Pacific-Asian co-prosperity"

So this was the blissful destiny which Japan as Asian regional superpower desires now to share with the whole Pacific Basin. Beyond the Asian frontier for this voracious system lies the wealth of the South Pacific. The first forms of this expansion took no account of the microstates as in any sense partners. Their populations were considered perhaps insignificant. New Zealand was perhaps considered to be the microstate superpower gateway into their midst.

15. New Asia and new Pacific

Reflection on the manner of the co-option of their brightest hopes had been steadily developing amidst the Asian struggle to preserve or to recover their human dignity. The Pacific peoples, stumbling or fighting their way out of the colonial bondage, now face the powerful co-opting force of "development" so familiar to Asian brothers and sisters. Pacific peoples moreover bring with them indigenous political and economic wisdom, born out of their historical subsistence experiences as small decentralized communities. A third element in the total situation are the sadder and wiser remnants of the white colonizing population for whom also the Pacific is coming to be their new home. These components, inside and outside the churches, are perhaps capable of storying, strategizing and organizing directly together.

The experience of this Consultation marks a stage of this process which may be decisive for ourselves and for the communities, systems and churches from which we come and to which we return.

16. The Wantok system

Wantok is a pidgin word. It literally means, "one-talk", or one-language. As a social concept, it means family-hood or an extended family system.

It is a concept that binds individuals and families together living in a communal way of sharing resources and co-operating in all forms of socio-economic activities, depending on each other in times of war, aiding one another in bad times, celebrating together and sharing sorrows together.

The *Wantok* system provides confidence and identity for all members and ensures continuity of life.

In a wider sense, it refers to a sense of neighbourhood, sharing common experiences and hope.

17. A reverse logic

Pacific indigenous wisdom relocates human society and its wellbeing as the centre of political and economic concern. The viability or survival of large economic systems and the preservation of militarist order must not be allowed to usurp the central place of human societies and human values. Technologies, enterprises and institutions appropriate to human-scale communities must take the place of imposed monolithic monocultures and monopolies. This implies rebuilding our societies and our systems “from the ground up” and not from the “top down”. Salvation for us in the full biblical sense belongs to us as we learn to live justly and lovingly in community. Christians and churches have no choice but to join in the struggles for justice and peace in the Pacific, in partnership with all those peoples and groups who are doing likewise.

Report of Working Group II

HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Preface

The struggle for human rights in the Asia-Pacific region is a movement of people for a just and human society. It is principally directed against the global-national structure of oppression and exploitation. The thrust and character of this struggle is determined by the historical and political conditions prevailing in each country and the nature of the dominant forces at work.

In some countries, nominal political independence has been achieved, but the people continue to be economically linked to the international capitalist system and are therefore struggling against indirect and subtle external control (neocolonialism). Some countries are engaged in a struggle against direct colonial rule (independence struggle in the Pacific). In other instances, indigenous people are demanding land rights; minority groups struggle for their legal and political rights, and migrant workers continue to organize against exploitation. Necessarily, the character of the struggle assumes different forms and intensities.

The phenomenon of anti-colonial struggle is manifested in specific issues such as militarization, irresponsible and immoral use of nuclear power, and the dominant control of transnational corporations.

Again, the struggle against those specific manifestations takes various forms. In some, the task of education is central, while in other cases the central form of resistance is mass mobilization and armed revolutionary struggle.

2. Recommendations for specific issues

- a) **Militarization.** We note with great alarm the reality of Asian-Pacific nation-states patterned after a "repressive-developmental" model, wherein the state machinery of violence is strengthened to protect and advance the economic-political interests of the global and national elites. Generally, these regimes are governed by the *doctrine of national security*.

Recommendations :

- (i) That WCC/CCIA and such other ecumenical bodies as the Pacific Conference of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia pursue study/action campaigns against militarization.
- (ii) We firmly declare our solidarity with the victims by :
 - providing a forum for them to expose the nature of these repressive-developmental regimes;
 - facilitating their linkages for mutual sharing and support;
 - providing moral, legal and technical assistance.

- b) **Irresponsible and immoral use of nuclear power.** Scientific advancement through improved technology can be beneficial to humankind. However, the peoples of the Asia-Pacific region are becoming victims of nuclear technology which imperils their quality of life and threatens human survival. This is manifested by mining and destruction of tribal people's land, the dumping of nuclear waste, storage of nuclear weapons in US bases, and the construction of nuclear reactor plants to serve the interests of advanced industrial societies.

Recommendation :

- (iii) That WCC/CCIA continue to support the people's movement for a nuclear-free zone, as endorsed by the Pacific Conference of Churches.

- c) **TNCs and the international financial institutions.** Contrary to the claims of the TNCs and the financial institutions that they bring about development and progress through the transfer of technology, employment and infusion of capital, the opposite is the reality. Until nation-states are truly sovereign, the TNCs and the financial institutions will continue to shape and determine the economic policies to satisfy their profit motive.

Recommendation :

- (iv) That WCC continue study/action programmes on TNCs and facilitate the search for an alternative model of development suited to the countries in these regions.

3. Concerns to be shared with our churches

- a) Basically, the struggle against the forces of domination and the struggle to affirm the basic human rights of peoples is a political question. As such, we should situate our involvement in human rights within the political arena. Necessarily, we should develop our theological-biblical thinking and training along this line.
- b) On the other hand, we should closely examine our motivations and structures to determine whether we are a part of the problem or the solution, having in mind that historically, we are products of neocolonialism, since Christianity came to the Asia-Pacific on the wave of colonization.
- c) Our solidarity with the peoples struggling to affirm their human rights should be unconditional in the sense that we recognize and support the political options they take to overcome domination and to fulfil their aspirations.
- d) Crucial to a sustained support for the struggle for human rights is the need to surface and develop a quality of church leadership which is knowledgeable, committed and creative. Along this line, we recommend :
- (v) a shift in our theological education, equipping the people of God to be more conversant, articulate and committed to the struggle for human rights;
- (vi) provide support to those who, in the commitment to stand in solidarity with the people, become victims of ecclesiastical and state repression.

Report of Working Group III

ROLE OF THE CHURCHES

1. Preface

It is an ecumenically significant event that Christians from the Pacific and Asia regions have come together to consider our common concerns as they affect the churches in these regions in discharging their social responsibilities.

We are immensely indebted to CCIA/WCC for taking an ecumenical initiative to bring us together. We are once again reminded of our inseparable relationship through Jesus Christ and our common calling for the Mission of the Church. We have been in fellowship through our commitment and participation in the ecumenical movement. However, our meeting together in Manila enabled us to see more clearly the specific dimensions of our being related to each other.

We are geographically the closest neighbours and we are engaged to a large extent in a common struggle against the international forces of domination. We are bound together under the threat of nuclear proliferation and virtually affected together by the dangers of radioactive waste disposal. Systematic militarization of Pacific and Asian regions dictated by the security and economic interests of the superpowers bind us together for our survival. We are also aware of growing economic relations between some of the Asian nations and the Pacific region.

The World Council of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia jointly took part in the process of helping Asian churches to become aware of issues related to land rights of the Aborigines in Australia and Maoris in New Zealand. This is another indirect way of participating in our common concerns.

The people of Asia went through their decolonization struggles only a few decades ago. Therefore, it is assumed, almost without question, that Asians would as a matter of course bring enthusiastic support to the decolonization struggle of the Pacific people. Although there are a number of groups in Asia who have consistently laboured to express their solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Pacific people, the actual reality betrays our expectations.

We commend the stand taken by the Pacific Conference of Churches and the World Council of Churches in support of the decolonization struggle of the Pacific people. We also commend the CCA for articulating the reality that liberation does not come from the top, but comes through the efforts of the people. We also noted that Asians and the Pacific people collaborated in the recent discussion on the effects of transnational corporations in our regions. Another important example is the fact that the Pacific Conference of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia along with others took important steps to create the "Third World Coalition on Tourism". These are only some examples of the joint collaboration.

However, it was also recognized that whereas Christians are a small minority in the Asian context, in the Pacific, with the exception of Fiji, Christians constitute a majority of the total population. Therefore, it is inevitable that there are differences between Asia

and the Pacific as far as the ways in which the churches engage themselves in socio-political issues. Another important difference is that the Pacific Conference of Churches involves Roman Catholics as full members.

In Asia there are many action groups concerned with one or more specific socio-political issues, many of whom do not have any formal relationship with the church, although many Christians actively participate in them. In the Pacific, on the other hand, churches tend to be involved directly in the socio-political issues as the situations demand.

For this reason, it is very important for churches in Asia, and more specifically ecumenical structures like the CCA, to make a conscious effort to facilitate linkages between selected action groups in Asia, in as much as we are committed to the task of church-to-church relationship, with the churches in the Pacific. Some of the existing important organizations outside church structures in the Pacific are the Pacific People's Action Front, the University of the South Pacific Student Group, and the Trade Union Movements. They ought to be brought into relationship with the issue-oriented groups in Asia.

We noted with appreciation the resolution of the PCC Assembly to be "committed to stewardship, justice and peace-making". Furthermore, Pacific churches condemned the use of the Pacific for testing, storage, transportation, and passage of nuclear weapons and delivery systems. They are also concerned about the supplies of raw materials for nuclear energy, and the safety with regard to nuclear waste disposal. The enormous waste of resources for nuclear armaments and the arms race is another important concern.

As the Pacific churches seek solidarity actions from churches outside its region, it was more than appropriate for Christians from the Pacific and Asia to examine the creative roles which the churches in these regions should play in view of such pressing issues and to identify an appropriate course of common action.

A note concerning the concept of "Pacific rim" and "Pacific basin" is necessary. These are not concepts developed by the people of Asia and the Pacific. People outside our region brought these expressions into ecumenical usage. We recognize that they contain certain vestiges of the military strategies of the superpowers, and therefore recommend the discontinuation of the use of such terms.

2. Initiation of research and studies

We are painfully aware of our ignorance about each other. However, we are equally aware of the contribution made by the important work of CCA documentation, such as "Asian Issues", published by the International Affairs desk of the Christian Conference of Asia.

While the research and documentation centres in Asia and the Western countries are engaged in useful research on specific issues, they are seldom related to the real aspirations of the people who are engaged in their liberation struggles. It is therefore of crucial importance that churches in the Pacific be assisted in developing expertise to do their own research and documentation on issues arising from Pacific realities. In this connection, we commend the establishment of the Pacific Churches Research Centre in Vanuatu, under the auspices of the Pacific Conference of Churches.

There is ongoing research on how the issues of nuclearization, militarization and transnational corporations affect the lives of people in our regions; however, no substantial research has been done on the question of the economic relationship between Asia and the Pacific. Therefore, we suggest that efforts be made to initiate a study on this issue and to take appropriate action to implement such research as soon as possible. The Christian Conference of Asia and the Pacific Conference of Churches should be encouraged to envisage a joint study project in collaboration with the WCC.

It is highly desirable that the Pacific Churches Research Centre, the Documentation Centre for Action Groups in Asia (DAGA), and the Resource Centre of the NCC Japan be closely related to each other. These centres may become important instruments in carrying out joint study and research programmes.

We also recommend that the WCC initiate a survey of all the important existing research and documentation centres around the world that are engaged in specifically Asian and Pacific issues. In order to facilitate the process of research on the subject of Asian-Pacific economic relations, we make the following recommendations :

- (i) That on the occasion of the "Development and Aid" consultation called by PCC, an effort should be made to explore directions of research by making provision of an agenda of Asian-Pacific economic relations in the general framework of structural analysis of the domination-dependency relationship. A major presentation may be made on this topic by someone from an Asian nation having closer economic ties with the Pacific.
- (ii) That once this process is started, CCA and PCC should be encouraged to plan a major joint consultation on this issue within two years. For that purpose, we should solicit the support of the WCC and other appropriate centres of research and documentation.

3. Information sharing : inter-regional awareness building

We are convinced that greater efforts should be put into developing an inter-regional consciousness among Christians in our regions. This can be done through our church journals. The publications of CCA and PCC may be used to disseminate information about each other's region.

Church leaders visitation to regions can serve this purpose too. But it would be more effective if their visitations could be organized around specific issues of mutual interest. For example, Japanese church representatives might sit with the leaders of the Pacific Conference of Churches on the issue of nuclearization; Pre-Assembly visitation programmes of the WCC may be revised to meet the needs for inter-regional encounters. Even these encounters must be conducted in the general framework of information exchange and the sharing of our experiences.

We are aware that in many places in the Asian and the Pacific regions the media are either government-owned or government-controlled, or are controlled by foreign interests. Consequently, information is either suppressed or distorted. In such a situation, there is an urgent need for :

- (iii) the continuing support for present sources of counter-information such as DAGA (Asia) and PCRC (Pacific);

- (iv) ensuring the further dissemination of these publications;
- (v) new sources of counter-information on issues such as transnational corporations and general economic domination in the region.

4. Leadership of the churches

More than Asia, we recognize the serious need for the development of indigenous leadership of churches in the Pacific region. This is more acute in some churches than others. We shared the concern for leadership on the local level. We felt that it would be helpful to develop exchange programmes between PCC and CCA. To train the local community leadership, CCA might offer the training programmes of the CCA/Urban-Rural Mission Desk.

The Bossey Institute (WCC) programme proved useful for the development of leadership in the Pacific. Currently continuing programmes such as the Asia Ecumenical Centre under the auspices of the CCA may consider catering to this need. Scholarship programmes may be developed on an inter-regional basis.

5. Human rights

We consider that our concern for basic human rights has an implication relevant to our support for the people's struggle for decolonization and self-determination. In this light we view the struggles of people in New Caledonia, Micronesia and French Polynesia.

Self-determination has also another important dimension, namely the search for one's own identity. Our concern for human rights therefore combines with our conviction for developing the indigenous character of our churches.

Some Asian and Pacific Christians have been involved in the struggle for human rights for a long while. It was suggested that well-planned visitation between these groups would prove to be of extreme value. We are also concerned about the plight of islanders and of young Maori political activist detainees in New Zealand and the exploitation of workers in the newly industrialized areas.

The struggle for independence in West Papua and East Timor has continued with limited support from both the churches in Asia and the Pacific and the World Council of Churches. There are currently three issues to which the churches must address themselves : first, the need for a political-economic analysis of the present struggle; secondly, church support for independence movements; and finally, support for the protection of the human rights of refugees. The refugee situation is urgent. There are reports that West Papuan refugees in Papua New Guinea are being harassed, threatened and then handed over to Indonesian authorities.

Our actions should include :

- (vi) Immediate approach to PNG authorities to ensure recognition and protection of the human rights of refugees. This is to be done in collaboration with the Melanesian churches and should take place at the regional church and WCC levels.

- (vii) The Consultation requests the CCA, the PCC, and the WCC, in collaboration with the Vanuatu Community Resource Centre, to explore the most appropriate means of church support in the West Papuan struggle.

There are important roles that churches can play regarding people's land rights. This is directly related to colonial exploitation, and at the same time a long-held vested interest of the church in land holding. Land rights are an important issue for the people both in Asia and the Pacific.

6. Role of theological reflection

As CCA and PCC are encouraged to embark on mutual collaboration on issues of common concern, it is extremely important that right from the beginning we be engaged in serious theological reflections on the issues with which we plan to be involved together. We believe that biblical and theological reflection will provide the fundamental resource of our common commitment to our tasks.

As the churches in our regions are becoming conscious of their cultural and spiritual identity and confident about their own way of theological methodologies, it would be useful to call theological dialogues between the Christians of our regions on such concepts as "*Wantok*", etc.

7. Peace

We have raised issues such as the nuclear free Pacific, the militarization of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and the increasing penetration of economically powerful nations in Asia into the socio-political infrastructures of less developed nations in the Pacific and Asia. These are critical issues of which the churches must keep abreast in all the implications of these issues for our perception of the church's social responsibility.

The military bases of the superpowers in Asia are well known and have been the point of contention between the contending superpowers. In recent years, we have been made aware of a proliferation of US military bases in the Pacific region. In pursuit of economic interests, transnational corporations operating in politically unstable nations overtly demand the security umbrella of the USA for protection of their business interests under the pretence of safeguarding free enterprise.

These unjust practices of external forces and brutalities of domestic politics in some of the Asian states are important hindrances to the establishment of peace in Asia and the Pacific. Very often, the security interests of the superpowers are contrary to the interests of the people of the Pacific and Asia. The military presence of the superpowers raises serious concerns for the church's ministry in peace-making.

We recommend, therefore, that one of the existing peace research institutes in Asia be asked to conduct a survey of superpower military presence in our regions and the implications for our efforts to maintain and promote peace in our region. The PCC, CCA and WCC are requested to pool resources to defray the cost of such research.

As churches in our region undertake their ministries of peace, it becomes important to explore in earnest the ways not only to move beyond our traditionally remedial approaches, but to project an alternative socio-economic-political image and vision of our societies.

LETTER TO THE PACIFIC CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES AND CHURCHES IN THE PACIFIC

We, the participants from the Pacific, who had the good fortune of taking part in the consultation sponsored by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches (CCIA/WCC), in Manila, Philippines, from 28 September to 3 October, 1981, were made painfully aware of the sorry state of affairs in the region created by the subversive and corrosive influence of foreign governments and transnational corporations. This war of subversion, waged against the national independence and identity of the Pacific peoples, must be brought to the attention of the people and their leaders, along with ramifications of our lack of action.

The discussions on such burning issues in the region as independence movements, militarization, nuclear testing and waste dumping, transnational corporations, economic structures and strategies of foreign countries like Japan, imposed on the lives of the people in the Pacific, consumerism, and uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources, have given us a fairly good idea and appreciation of the frightening situation in our midst, which could lead to the destruction of our own identity and integrity as a people.

In spite of this seemingly hopeless state of unscrupulous institutionalized manipulation and exploitation, it is still necessary to turn to the church for meaning and purpose in the search for a just and humane society.

We therefore ask the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC), its member churches, and other churches in the Pacific to embark on an intensive programme of awareness-raising and to evolve appropriate strategies for alternate models of development and ministry, relevant to our real needs and aspirations in the Pacific.

We would like to suggest to the PCC that it upgrade its Research Centre in Vanuatu, providing it with additional qualified staff and funds, in order to enable it more effectively to coordinate the programme of conscientization throughout the Pacific.

The PCC ought to have a team of conscientizers or animators, drawn from our Pacific resources, to hold workshops in various countries for church, traditional, and government leaders, to make them aware of the issues and problems confronting them and their people, and of their responsibilities as leaders. The content of such workshops should include such subjects as structural analysis, theological/biblical foundation, application of the preaching of the Good News in concrete situations, planning of strategies for actions, and follow-ups.

We commend the PCC for its efforts in the past to act on these issues. Thanks to PCC, more and more churches in the Pacific are made aware of their individual and collective responsibilities toward society. We recommend that the PCC and the churches in the Pacific accept the report of the CCIA/WCC Consultation for their favourable consideration and action as a matter of urgency.

Finally, we pray that the Lord will bless our endeavours in transforming our Pacific communities as we work together in fulfilling the plan of God in our region and the world.

*Mr. John Doom
General Secretary of the
Evangelical Church of French
Polynesia*

*Mr. Jean-Marie Tjibaou
Member : Territorial Assembly
and CCLA Human Rights Advisory
Group, New Caledonia*

*Fr. John Momis
Minister of Decentralization
Papua New Guinea*

*Mr. Rex Rumakiek
Liberation Movement of the
Pacific in Vanuatu*

*Dr. Felix K. Yaoch, S.J.
Priest of the Roman Catholic
Church in Belau, Caroline
Islands in Micronesia*

*Mr. Hoke Wanothuma
Evangelical Church
New Caledonia*

*Mr. Utula Samana
Premier of Morobe Province
Papua New Guinea*

*Mrs. Lorine Tevi
Retired PCC General Secretary
Suva, Fiji*

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

- AHN, Jae-Woong
Asian section, World Student Christian Federation
(Hong Kong)
- ARMSTRONG, George
Professor, St. John's College
(New Zealand)
- DAHLEN, Olle
CCIA Moderator, Ambassador
(Sweden)
- DAVID, Alfred
Director, East Asia Division,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(Sri Lanka)
- DOOM, John
General Secretary,
Evangelical Church of French Polynesia
(Tahiti)
- KANG, Moon-Kyu
General Secretary of Korea YMCA,
CCIA Commissioner
(Korea)
- de LEON, Avelio
National Council of Churches
(Philippines)
- MATHESON, Alan
Former WCC Migration Secretary, presently
Australian Council of Trade Unions
(Australia)
- MERCADO, La Verne
NCC General Secretary
(Philippines)
- MOMIS, John
Minister for Decentralization
(Papua New Guinea)
- PARK, Sang-Jung
Associate General Secretary,
Christian Conference of Asia
(Singapore)
- RIGOS, Cirilo
Pastor, member of CCIA
Human Rights Advisory Group
(Philippines)

- RODRIGUEZ, Dave
Ecumenical Movement for Justice and
Peace (KKK), Chairman of SCM
(Philippines)
- RUMAKIEK, Rex
Community Resource Centre
(Vanuatu)
- RUTNIN, Matanee
Professor, CCIA Commissioner
(Thailand)
- SAMANA, Utula
Premier of Morobe Province
(Papua New Guinea)
- SHOJI, Tsutomu
General Secretary,
National Christian Council
(Japan)
- SUZUKI, Yuzu
Professor, Acting General Secretary of
Asia Peace Research Association
(Japan)
- TEVI, Lorine
Former General Secretary,
Pacific Conference of Churches
(Fiji)
- TJIBAOU, Jean-Marie
Member of Territorial Assembly,
member of CCIA Human Rights Advisory Group
(New Caledonia)
- TREMEWAN, Chris
Youth Secretary,
Christian Conference of Asia
(Singapore)
- WANOTHUMA, Hoke
Representative of Eglise Evangélique
(New Caledonia)
- YAOCH, Felix
Priest, Roman Catholic Church of Micronesia
(Caroline Islands)
- YAP, Thiam-Hien
CCIA Vice-Moderator
(Indonesia)

CCIA Staff

Victor Hsu
Erich Weingärtner

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**Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
of the World Council of Churches**

Central Office

150 route de Ferney
1211 Geneva 20
Switzerland
Tel. : (022) 98 94 00
Cable : OIKOUMENE GENEVA
Telex : 23 423 OIK CH

UN Headquarters Liaison Office

777 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
USA
Tel : (212) 8675890
Cable : OIKOUMENE NEW YORK